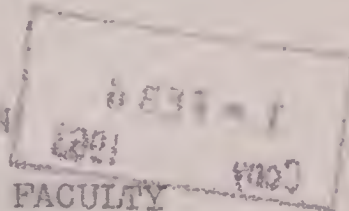




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THE IRENIC PROGRAM AND ACTIVITY OF
JOHN AMOS COMENIUS

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FOREWORD

The present day witnesses a revival of the great ideal of an organic union of Christendom. There are movements in almost all parts of Christendom which have for their objective the realization of this great dream of the ages. Much has already been done to prepare the ground, and to say the least, earnest Christian minds everywhere are studying the ways and means of the problem.

It is, therefore, not amiss to give renewed attention to similar attempts made in the past, and to study the programs of the great irenic leaders of history. Among these, there is one whose important irenic labors have been almost completely forgotten. And yet, he and his Church were among the earliest and most persistent advocates of the idea of union of Christendom, for the whole history of the "Unitas Fratrum" and of the last bishop of the Bohemian branch of that communion, John Amos Comenius, bear witness to it. The reason for the fact that hitherto no systematic presentation of this phase of Comenius' activity has been published seems to be that his fame as an educational reformer and founder of the modern system of education eclipsed all other phases of his activity. Moreover, the sources were to a large extent inaccessible, many of them being in the Czech language, with which but few scholars were acquainted.

This study is presented in the hope that the real merit and contribution which Comenius made to the problem of the union of Christendom may receive its deserved recognition.

Chapter I

"Unitas Fratrum" and its Irenic Spirit.

Every effect has its corresponding cause; and in order to understand the effect fully one must have an intelligent comprehension of the causes producing it. Thus to understand the irenic ideals of John Amos Comenius it is necessary to go back to the environment which nurtured him and from which he drew his inspiration. Not that the sum total of the various influences which played upon Comenius would equal all that he represents, for in dealing with personalities the old dictum of arithmetic that one and one makes two does not hold true; it makes two plus. The personality, especially one of creative genius, transcends the materials given it by inheritance or environment, and produces out of these materials a higher synthesis than a mere addition of the individual items would afford. Still, in order to discern just this creation of genius which is above and beyond the elements given by environment, one must clearly understand how much has been given.

John Amos Comenius received his spiritual nurture in a church which throughout its history possessed and displayed the irenic spirit to a remarkable degree. "Unitas Fratrum Bohemicorum", under which name that church is commonly known, has a record of persistent striving after unity in essentials of Christianity and of brotherly co-operation with the other Protestant bodies. This conciliatory, irenic spirit, so clearly manifested in the church of which Comenius was a mem-

ber, could not fail to produce a predisposition in him toward the mission of peace which characterized his life. It will, therefore, be fitting and proper, if not indeed necessary, to become acquainted first of all with the irenic spirit of the "Unitas Fratrum". It must, however, of necessity be only a brief treatment of the main features of this phase of the history of the church, and claims for itself no exhaustiveness or all-comprehensiveness. As soon as the fact that the irenic impulse which animated the Church of the Brethren came to its consummation in the labors of John Amos Comenius, is perceived, the object of this study shall have been attained.

There were many in Bohemia during the Husite wars who were dissatisfied with the extreme fanaticism of the Taborites as well as with the half-hearted, timid measures of the moderate Prague party, the Calixtines. They were tired of the passions engendered by the long-drawn strife, and gladly turned an attentive ear to the gospel of peace and non-resistance preached by Peter Chelčický. This remarkable man taught a fundamental antithesis between Church and State, which was so pronounced that the true Christian was forbidden to hold any connection with the state beyond that of submitting to it as to a necessary evil. All use of force in any form was likewise forbidden. Thus Chelčický recognized no just war, and condemned all attempts to compel men to change their faith by the exercise of force. On the other hand, all armed opposition in behalf of what may have been held to constitute the truth, was likewise forbidden.

Thus he clearly enunciated the doctrine of separation of Church and State, and of liberty of conscience. (1)

All these weary minds gladly welcomed the pacific and democratic teachings of Chelčický. A little group of his followers soon gathered about their leader, Gregory, a nephew of the Utraquist archbishop of Prague, John Rokycana. In fact, the archbishop himself, by his denunciations of the existing evils and corruption of the Church, as well as by his express commendation of the writing of Chelčický, at first encouraged the movement. (2) But later he abandoned this attitude because of the pressure exerted upon him by the King, George of Poděbrady, as well as on account of his desire to please the pope, from whom he hoped to gain recognition of his archepiscopal dignity. Consequently, persecutions of this little group broke out (1461; 1467-71), and finally the group was forced into separation from the mother church. Under the leadership of Gregory, they organized themselves into a separate communion called "Unitas Fratrum". (1467), at Kunvald, in the extreme eastern Bohemia. Two years later they procured from the Waldensian bishop Stephen the episcopal ordination for their

(1) Cf. Chelčický: *Síť Víry Pravé*. Ed. by E. Smetánka. Prague 1910.

Also, Chelčický: *O Trojím Lidu*. "Světová Knihovna", No. 916-918.

Also, Goll, Jaroslav: *Jednota a Čeští Bratři XV. stol.*, p. 22-23; 38.

Denis: *Konec Samostatnosti České*, I, p. 339-340.

Gindely: *Geschichte der Böhmisches Brüder*, I, p. 15.

(2) See Goll: *op.cit.*, p. 66; also the original documents on p. 76.

clergy. This last act completed their separation from the Roman Church as well as from the Utraquists.

The separation from the two officially recognized churches of Bohemia immediately brought forward the problem of their relation to these bodies. Contrary to the attitude of many movements which separated from the Roman Catholic Church, the Brethren did not consider themselves the only true church wherein salvation was attainable. On the contrary, they held that they formed merely a part of the Church universal, and that they separated from the officially recognized churches of Bohemia on account of the corruption of the true Catholic faith and polity found in them. In one of their early official decretals we find the following statement in regard to their status:

"In what does and should our unity and agreement with all the member of the holy Church consist?

"In the confession of the Christian and apostolic faith, and in accepting the sacred writings of the Old and New Testaments for the foundation of faith and order"....." And although in the matter of services and servants of the ministries of faith, and in the matter of salvation there is a great difference between us and the Romans and those who agree with them.....yet as far as the Christian catholic faith and the sacred writing are concerned, we affirm unity". (1)

A little further on they say: "And thus

(1) Gindely: Dekrety Jednoty Českých Pratrů, p.11.

believing according to the Holy Spirit in a holy Church, we do not hold that we alone compose the holy catholic Church, or that salvation is to be obtained only among us, or that we alone should be saved."(1)

Their discriminating attitude toward the Roman Church is further characterized in the official report of the Synod of 1534, as follows:

"It is the general opinion of the Brethren of the Unity, confessed and recorded in the tract "About the Church"("O Cirkvi"), that the teachings of the Roman Church are of three kinds: some that are wholly evil, others where good and bad is intermingled, as, among others, the sacraments, they purged of the evil element, for it was not deemed wise to reject these doctrines outright. Thus the Brethren gathered themselves into the Unity for the purpose of using in holy fellowship those good things of the old Church which they in no wise rejected, as well as those formerly mixed of good and evil, which they purged. But they rejected all evil doctrines as far as they were known to them, and purged themselves of them completely." (2)

Utraquists, whose special demands were recognized by the "Compactata", which were granted them in 1436 by the Council of Basle, differed very little from the Roman Catholics. In fact, their practical difference consisted merely in their separate ecclesiastical organization, known

(1) Ibid, p.15.

(2) Gindoly: Dekrety Jednoty Českých Bratří P.150

as the "Lower Consistory", and in communing in both kinds, using both the bread and wine in the Lord's Supper. Persecution which the Brethren suffered at the hands of the Utraquists precluded for a long time any thought of friendly cooperation, even if the Brethren had been minded to enter into it. This hostility toward the Brethren on the part of both state churches found its most pronounced expression in the mandate of King Vladislav, which was adopted in 1508 by the Diet as law of the land. By the terms of this law no "Pickhard" (as the Brethren were then officially termed, although it was considered a term of reproach) was to be tolerated within the limits of the kingdom of Bohemia. Thus the "Unitas Fratrum" was legally proscribed, and remained so throughout the sixteenth century. And yet in spite of this determined opposition it continued to increase and gain adherents, due to the favor and effectual protection of many powerful nobles, who became either patrons or members of this communion.

When Luther, after the Leipzig disputation with Eck, gradually came to see that the views he defended were essentially in agreement with those of Hus, and made his discovery public, this avowal gained for him many warm supporters in Bohemia. In fact, in 1522 Luther sent a letter to the Prague Utraquists in which he suggested that they cut themselves off from dependence upon the Catholics in the matter of priestly ordination and send their candidates for consecration to Germany. Both the Utra-

quists and the Brethren were favorably disposed to the new reforming movement in Germany. Indeed, henceforth the Utraquist party began a period of inner transformation which resulted in 1567 in the abrogation of the "Compactata" as totally inadequate to meet the new situation, and in 1575 in the adoption of a Confession of Faith fully in accord with the "Augustana". Practically nothing remained of the old Utraquism but its name, to which they clung in order to retain the legal protection for themselves; but in doctrinal formulation they were essentially Lutheran. In order to distinguish them from the old Utraquists, it is advisable to speak of this transformed body as the Neo-Utraquists.

The Unity of Brethren was undergoing a similar transformation. The leading spirit of this movement was John Augusta, who became the senior bishop of the Unity in 1547. It was his desire to transform the timid, other-worldly, retiring company of Christians of his church into aggressive leaders of the Bohemian religious life. The goal he sought to accomplish by gaining the good-will of the leaders of the German reformation, and by consolidating the forces of the "Unitas Fratrum" with the Lutheranzed Utraquists. Thus the resulting Bohemian Protestant Church would have been numerically, spiritually, and intellectually the strongest force in the nation.

Luther, with whom the Brethren sought friendly relations, expressed himself most approvingly about their confession of which was presented to him on two occasions. (1) Augusta was

(1) Gindely: Quellen zur Geschichte der böhmischen Brüder, 1858. p.32-35; 53.

one of the delegates who brought the Confession of 1535 for Luther's approval, and upon departure exhorted the delegation, saying: "Be ye apostles of Bohemia, while we will serve Germany. Serve as occasion presents itself, and we will likewise do as we may have opportunity." (1)

This friendship of the Brethren with the Lutheran leaders bore fruit in 1546, when King Ferdinand was appealed to by his brother, Emperor Charles V., to afford him military aid in the contemplated struggle with the Schmalkald League. When Ferdinand called for levies, these were not forthcoming; the small contingent which was gathered was so intractable and disobedient that the king was finally obliged to disband his useless army. The next year the king again ordered mobilization, but this time without consulting the Estates. This act of absolutism was spiritedly resented by the nobles, among whom the Brethren were of considerable prominence. The opposition grew into an organized revolt, which convened a Diet against the express order of the king, and collected an army for the relief of the German Protestants.

But the disastrous defeat of the Schmalkald League at Mühlberg (April 24, 1547) caused the opposition party to throw itself at the feet of the King to sue for mercy. The punishments meted out to the party fell heaviest upon the cities and the Unity of Brethren. In fact, the latter was

(1) Gindely: Quellen, p.54; there is some question when the words were actually spoken. Lasitius reports them with the last visit of Augusta to Luther, in 1542. See also De Schweinitz: The History. p.252.

again proscribed. The exiles found homes in various countries, many of them settling in Poland, where they founded an independent branch of the "Unitas Fratrum". Bishop Augusta was imprisoned and kept in confinement at Castle Krivoklát for sixteen years.

Thus it happened that the plans of Augusta failed, and in fact found vigorous opposition even from within the Unity itself. Leader of this opposition was found in John Blahoslav, whose program had in view not an amalgamation with the Neo-Utraquists, but the gaining of legal recognition for the "Unitas Fratrum" itself. With that goal in view Blahoslav carried on negotiations with Pfäuser, the Protestant chaplain of Emperor Maximilian II. It was quite openly rumored in regard to the Emperor that as crown-prince he had been most favorably inclined to Protestantism, and thus there seemed to be sufficient reason to hope that when he ascended the throne he might grant Bohemian Protestants religious liberty.

However, from political considerations, Maximilian did not deem it expedient to accede to the wishes of the Protestants. Consequently, they were faced with a graver problem than ever before. As already mentioned, the "Compactata", which were formerly regarded as the Magna Charta of the old Utraquism, were abrogated in 1567, and with them the Neo-Utraquist party lost the old legal protection, while the "Unitas Fratrum" never had it. It was plainly in the interest of both parties to gain a legal recognition together.

With this aim in view the Diet of 1575 undertook to settle the religious question. The Catholic members of the Diet gave assurance that they would abstain from all interference. The nobles of the Unity now had to choose between the program of Augusta or that of Blahoslav. Finally they decided to follow a middle course. Then a new confession of faith, known as "Confessio Bohemica", was prepared by the Neo-Utraquists, the Brethren did not sign it, but in the preface expressed their full approval of the main articles of the symbol, and prayed for equal recognition with the Neo-Utraquists.

Emperor Maximilian gave a solemn verbal promise to recognize this Confession as within the protection of the law, but did not grant a written concession to that effect, and his deeds almost immediately contradicted his verbal promises. His successor, Rudolph, who at his election as Bohemian king had bound himself with the same promise as his father had done, broke his vow to such an extent as to renew, in 1602, the old persecuting edict of Vladislav, which gave freedom to no one but the Roman Catholics and the old Utraquists. This brought about a spirited opposition on the part of the Protestant nobility, who by a combination of favorable circumstances and the indirect aid extended them by the invasion of Bohemia by king Matthias, succeeded in 1609 in obtaining from Emperor Rudolph the famous "Letter of Majesty". (1)

By the terms of this document, which granted complete liberty of conscience to the adherents of the "Confessio

(1) See Gindely: Geschichte der B.B., II, p.447-454.

Bohemica" of 1575, the dream of Augusta was in a large measure realized. The Brethren now gave up their separate confessional standard and accepted as their own the Bohemian confession along with the Neo-Utraquists. Moreover, they accepted the general oversight of their body by the Utraquist Consistory, on which they were represented by a senior and two priests. However, they retained their own ecclesiastical order and usages, as well as their own church government. Thus the priests of the Unity continued to be ordained and disciplined by the seniors of the Unity. In other words, the Unity was permitted to form an "ecclesiola in ecclesia", an organization that was self-governing with the exception of matters which belonged to the Consistory; they held to their own disciplinary system, polity, and church government, but were bound to the Utraquists by the ties of a common Confession of Faith. Thus in the estimation of the Brethren, they were confederated with the Utraquists, but did not cease to exist as a Church. This peculiar relationship, somewhat like that which the states of the American union sustain to the federal government, was one not without its peculiar dangers. In fact, it was generally regarded by the Neo-Utraquists with suspicion.

All that remains to be considered now is the attitude of the Brethren to the other large Protestant body, the Reformed or Calvinistic churches. Excluding the Zwinglians, whose teaching regarding the Lord's Supper as a mere memorial

was regarded by the Brethren as erroneous (1), the mutual relations were most cordial. In fact, it is in this relation of the Brethren to the Reformed churches that the real irenic spirit of the Unity, was most clearly in evidence. They laid chief stress upon practical Christian life, or "applied Christianity" as one might say, and not on dogmatic precision. That was the reason why the dogmatic teaching of the Unity underwent constant changes, because it was not considered once for all complete. Moreover, they laid stress upon the fundamentals of Christianity, which in their estimation could be stated in such a way as to include both Lutheran doctrine of ubiquity or the absolute predestination of the Calvinists. All this made it possible for the Brethren to be on good terms with both the major Protestant parties, and to strive to bring about mutual recognition, if not indeed an organic unity, of all the parties concerned.

The Brethren entered into negotiations with the Calvinists for mutual recognition as early as 1540. (2) The representative whom bishop Augusta sent to Strassburg, received from Bucer, Calvin, and other reformers a most cordial reception and a favorable reply. Bucer wrote to Augusta: "Ich kann von euch sagen, dass es euch allein geglückt ist mit der reinen Lehre in Besitz einen trefflichen Disciplin zu sein. Vergleiche ich euren Zustand mit dem unsrigen, so muss ich mich für uns schamen." (3)

(1) Cf. Gindely: Geschichte, I, p. 192; also Oecumenius: Ohlášení, in Veškeré Spisy, XVII, p.308.

(2) See the original report in Gindely, Quellen, p. 58-71.

(3) See Gindely: Quellen, p.42

As the Mittenberg theologians grew increasingly bigoted in their insistence upon the special doctrines of Lutheranism, in order to ward off any suspicion of Crypto-Calvinism, the Brethren were compelled to turn to the Reformed churches more and more. They began to send their students to the Reformed schools in increasing numbers, and these students upon return naturally exerted influence in favor of the Reformed party. Comenius himself, for instance, was sent to the Reformed School of Herborn, and later studied at Heidelberg. But even without these considerations the Brethren found themselves in greater accord with the Reformed than with the Lutherans; they both laid stress upon discipline, and in their teaching concerning the Lord's Supper the Brethren stood nearer the Reformed than the Lutherans.

From the foregoing sketch it is apparent that the Brethren strove persistently to uphold a policy of fraternization and of mutual recognition among the warring major Protestant parties. This they did at the risk of being charged with inconsistency, and of trying to be all things to all men. That charge, however, was not valid from the point of view of the Brethren. Stressing fundamentals only, and placing emphasis upon life rather than dogma, they felt that all major Protestant parties were essentially one. At any rate, they valued peace and unity above niceties of dogmatic statements.

It was this atmosphere of invigorating, practical, undogmatic, one might almost say pietistic Christianity, that

Comenius breathed since his childhood. The traditions of his church fostered in him an attitude of glad recognition of all who held to the fundamentals of Christianity. He was indeed keenly appreciative of the special and distinctive features of his communion - the church government and strictness of discipline--and valued them highly. But he was not blind to the larger interests of Christendom which might be attained by cooperation or even union with other Protestant bodies, and as a result, the irenic spirit of the "Unitas Fratrum" found in him its classical expression.

CHAPTER II

JOHN AMOS COMENIUS: HIS LIFE AND PLACE IN THE MOVEMENTS OF HIS AGE. (1)

1. His Education and Early Literary Career.

John Amos Comenius was not only a representative product of his Church, but was a child of his age as well. He received a wider education than his own Church could afford him, at the famous Reformed schools at Herborn and Heidelberg, and the moulding influences of these German institutions of higher learning served to broaden his outlook and his sympathies. By his educational activity later on he became a part of the educational and reform movements of the seventeenth century, and played in them a most distinguished rôle. He became associated with many of the most dominant leaders of these movements, whose places of abode ranged from England to Sweden, Germany, Transylvania and Switzerland. These men were influenced by him, and he, in turn, was

(1) It is regrettable that so many biographies and biographical sketches of Comenius in English are in many particulars inaccurate, or in some details wholly wrong. As a typical example of his assertion can be cited the unsigned article "Comenius" in the eleventh edition of the "Encyclopædia Britannica" VI, which contains, beside some inaccuracies, even such a blunder as that the "Pansophiae Prodromus" was published in 1630 at Lissa. The date of Comenius' death is generally given--with but few exceptions--as occurring on Nov. 15, 1671. The correct date is Nov. 15, 1670. The present biographic sketch is based mostly on reliable Bohemian and German secondary authorities with a very considerable use of source material.

affected by them. This was a truly reciprocal process, and whoever wishes to understand the development of Comenius' life, must become acquainted with this interplay of influences. Moreover, since his program became unified into one great "Pansophic" scheme of universal education, by which he hoped to attain all his various reform projects, no one can understand a part of his program--such as was comprised by his irenic activity--without having a clear idea of its coherence with the whole of the scheme. Comenius himself tells us what he expected of this unified program in that book which sums up his judgment of his life-long endeavors, the "Unum Necessarium". He was led "to consider and to hope that it would be easier to heal the whole than a part; to give the whole body a common medicine, than to apply a plaster only to the head or foot or side".

Any attempt to portray this unified program of Comenius, and his place in the various contemporary reform movements, must of necessity be brief. For an exhaustive treatment the reader must be referred to special literature dealing with the various phases of Comenius' activity.

John Amos Comenius (properly Komenský) was born of well-to-do parents at Uhersky Brod in Moravia, on March 28, 1592.(1)

(1) The birthplace of Comenius is still a subject of some doubt, if not of controversy. Such a recognized authority on Comenius as Prof. Jan Kvačala of Bratislava still leaves the place undetermined between Nivnice and Uherský Brod. (See Kvačala: J. A. Komenský, Prague, 1921, p.2.) But another authoritative investigator, Dr. J.V. Novák of Prague, in his "Jan Amos Komenský. Jeho život a spisy, Praha 1920, p.6, states positively that Uherský Brod was the birthplace of Comenius. It may be added that the latter position is fast becoming the generally accepted one.

He lost both of his parents early and was cared for by his father's sister, who lived in the village of Strážnice. It was there that he received the rudiments of education, and experienced the hardships which he later set himself to remove. (1) After the burning of this village by some marauding Hungarian hordes, the young Comenius was sent, when sixteen years of age, to the Brethren's Latin school at Přerov. This school was under the direction of Bishop Janecius, whose genuine esteem and lasting friendship Comenius soon won for himself. There is no doubt that the good bishop's recommendation gained for him an aid from the lord of the city, Count Charles Sn., of Lerotín, who in 1608 had become the supreme vice-regent of Moravia. Thus the young student was enabled to continue his studies at the famous Reformed Academy at Herborn in Nassau, where he matriculated in 1611. This Academy earned for itself a fair fame all over Germany, and even such an authority as Tholuck esteemed it the most important among the seventeenth century Reformed high-schools of Germany. (2) It boasted such famous theologians as John Fischer (Piscator), the great biblicalist, and John Henry Alsted, who in spite of his youth was held in the highest esteem throughout Europe

(1) *Didactica Magna*, chap. xi.

(2) See Tholuck: *Akad. Leben*, II, p.303, cited in Hebe: *Comenius' Studienzeit in Herborn*, in *H.C.G.*, III, p. 78ff. It was a Reformed school, not Lutheran, as Graves erroneously states in his "*Great Educators of Three Centuries*", New York, 1912, p.28.

on account of his thorough and wide scholarship and literary labors. Alsted exercised a potent influence over Comenius, who was only four years younger than his professor, and gave his pupil a predisposition toward deeply Christian encyclopaedic learning which characterized his whole subsequent career. (1) The two men cooperated in their reforming endeavors throughout life. In a disputation which was held under Alsted's presidency, Comenius addressed him "professorem sollertissimum, praeceptorem suum carissimum multumque honorandum". (2) Alsted taught philosophy in sympathy with the views of the well-known anti-Aristotelian, Peter Ramus, and that made Comenius a determined anti-Aristotelian. Of course, in theology both Alsted and Piscator were Calvinists of the German-Reformed-School type. Piscator's biblical emphasis strengthened Comenius' faith in the Bible as the only rule of faith and life, so that the Bible became to him the highest norm in all things. He also required here his ardent chiliastic leanings, as he himself expressly stated in one of his last polemical writings. (3)

After two years of study in the Herborn schools, Comenius spent another year at the University of Heidelberg, where David Pareus (Wängler) had acquired for himself and his school an enviable celebrity. The deep impression which Pareus made upon the young student may be gauged by the fact that Comenius afterwards mentioned him among those

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- (1) Kvacala: Die paedagogische Reform des Comenius, II, p.130.
(2) Veskere Spisy Komenskeho, I, p.23.
(3) The passage occurs in "De zelo sine scientia", 1669; of. Novak, J.A.Komensky, p.26

teachers "quorum memoria in benedictione sit".(1) This man was the outstanding irenic writer of his time, his house, "Pareanum", serving as the center for those who worked for a re-union of the Protestant forces. He published in 1614 a book entitled "Irenicum sive de unione et synodo evangelicorum concilianda liber votivus, paci ecclesiae et desideriiis pacificorum dicatus." In it he upheld the thesis that the Reformed and Lutheran symbols of faith agree in all important essentials, while minimizing all differences between them as unimportant. But he was not satisfied with this theoretical unity. He went on to suggest a general synod of the evangelical bodies to be called by the German Protestant princes in co-operation with the kings of Denmark and England, in order to work out an actual organic union between the two bodies. Moreover, he outlined the questions to be discussed at this synod, as well as the mode of procedure. While this meeting was pending, he advised all parties to live in mutual friendship.

Thus Comenius came at Heidelberg into close contact with an outstanding irenic leader, an occurrence which certainly exerted a mighty influence upon the shaping of his own career. In fact, such a prominent and trustworthy scholar as Kvačala thinks it possible that the eighteenth chapter of the "Irenicum", which dealt with the history of the Bohemian ecclesiastical confederation of 1609, had

(1) See Kvačala: Korrespondence Kom., I, p.196.

been written by Comenius, while Novák contented himself with saying that it must have been written by some Bohemian. (1)

In the spring of 1614 Comenius, having richly profited by his three years of higher studies in Germany, returned home on foot, digressing from his way to visit Holland. Upon his return he became a teacher in the school of Přerov, where he himself had been first introduced to the study of Latin. He was too young to be ordained a priest, and the two years spent in academic labors were a fit preparation for the office which he later assumed. His eagerness to serve his nation in a worthy manner impelled him to undertake a work which was colossal in its conception. It was to be an encyclopaedia containing information concerning all things from the creation to the end of the world, "*in quo omnes res ita descriptae exstarent, ut homines nostri, quacumque de re informatione opus esset, domi eam habere possent, bibliothecarum epitomi instructi*". (2) This work, "*Theatrum universitatis rerum*", was never completed, and only a fragment has been preserved. (3) Thus he soon began to play the rôle of a teacher, but during this early period his energies were to be spent primarily in benefiting his own nation. Besides this work, he made a small beginning of his educational reformatory career by publishing in Prague his "*Grammaticae familiaris praecepta*" (1616) for the

(1) See Novák: J.A.Komenský, p.29

(2) Patera: Korrespondence Kom., (1892) p.233.

(3) Veškeré Spisy Kom., I, p.50ff.

purpose of making the study of Latin easier. Of this work we know nothing save the mere fact of its publication.

When in 1616 Comenius was ordained a priest of the "Unity", he gave himself wholly to his office. (1) In 1618 he became pastor of the parish of Fulnek, which was among the most important churches of the Unity in Moravia. He was also given control of the local school of the Brethren. It was at this time that he married his first wife. His activity was most varied and beneficial, and judging from the local tradition which long survived till it was recorded in the beginning of the nineteenth century by a local chronicler (2), Comenius made for himself an enviable reputation by his gentle nature, so that it became a common saying that the "Lampelhirt" had no gall.

But this peaceful and beneficent activity of Comenius at Fulnek was rudely interrupted by the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War. Moravia was repeatedly invaded by the contesting armies, and in 1621 Fulnek fell prey to the fury of the Spaniards who burned the city. Comenius fled from Fulnek "among the first" (3), leaving his wife behind on

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- (1) "Quia vero mox (aetatis anno 24) ad ecclesiae ministerium vocatus eram, divinumque illud: Hoc age! prae oculis erat, scholasticae curae sponendae fuerunt". Veskere Spisy, I, p.374.
- (2) Jaschke, Felix: Fulnecker Chronic oder Quodlibet. 13 vols. For extracts, containing seven letters presumably written by Comenius to the canon regular of the local convent, Karl Joseph Feldemann, see Patera: Korrespondence Kom., p.287-293.
- (3) Comenius himself says so in his letter to Montanus: "(pulsus ab ecclesia mea mox inter primos, anno 1621..." Patera: Korrespondence Kom., p.234.

account of her condition of expectancy. He found refuge, along with many other priests of the Unity, on the Bohemian estates of their noble co-religionist, Count Charles of Zerotín, at Brandýs nad Orlicí.

During the subsequent years of grave danger, when Protestant ministers of all denominations had been ordered out of the country, and thus those who remained in the land were exposed to the danger of discovery and death, Comenius turned his mind anxiously to the Bible and works of devotion, seeking consolation. He was not spared private sorrow over the death of his wife and children, who died of a pestilential plague. This led him to write a number of treatises of devotional and inspirational character, one of which became the best loved and best known of his popular writings. (1) This was his deathless allegory of the "Labyrinth of the World and Paradise of the Heart", which can justly be compared in popularity and influence to Bunyan's Progress. Next to the Bible, it became the most highly valued possession of the exiles. Leaving behind the country of their birth, their estates and homes, they sang:

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- (1) The writings composed during this period were: "Přemyslování o dokonalosti křesťanské" (Thoughts concerning Christian perfection); "Nedobytný hrad jméno Hospodinovo" (The impregnable castle, Name of God); "Truchlivý" I & II (The Sorrowful); "Labyrint Světa a Ráj srdce". All are found in *Veskeré Spisy Kom.*, xv. The last book is translated by Count Lützow as "Labyrinth of the World and Paradise of the Heart." London, 1901.

"Nothing have we taken along
All into flames hurled,
But the Bible of Kralice
And Labyrinth of the World."

The book became so exceedingly popular because it spoke to the hearts of the exiles and pointed to them the only source of comfort in their sad plight--the treasures of an inner communion with God. It represented a Pilgrim who after having travelled over the whole world and inquired into all things found them all vain and unsatisfactory. Finally, in the anguish of his soul he was led into his own heart, wherein he found Christ and with him the true peace and blessedness.

Much has been said about the sources which Comenius employed in the composition of this book, for he was dependent upon others to some extent in this case as well as in the case of some of the other books mentioned. It is a fact well established that in "The Labyrinth" Comenius made use to some extent of John Valentine Andreae's "Peregrini in patria errores", while the second part, "Paradies of the Heart" echoes Andreae's "Civis Christianus, sive peregrini quondam errantis restitutiones". Beside these, many other writings of the same author furnished Comenius with some minor details of his great allegory; in fact, in some places, he seems to have incorporated parts of his model verbally, while throughout there are allusions reminiscent of Andreae. Yet in spite of this, the work of Comenius as a whole is not a slavish imitation, but an original

composition, a resorking of older materials in a truly creative fashion.(1) The influence of Andreae upon Comenius' later life continued throughout, as will be pointed out later. (2)

In 1624 Comenius married his second wife, the daughter of John Cyrill, bishop of the "Unity" and a member of the Utraquist Consistory, who, together with the administrator of the consistory, crowned Frederick of Palatinate the king of Bohemia. But Comenius' stay in Bohemia was destined to be of short duration. After the publication of the royal "Renewed Regulation of the Land" in 1627, which ordered the nobility as well as the rest of the inhabitants of the kingdom to accept Catholicism within six months or to leave the country, the protection afforded the priests of the "Unity" by Charles Žerotín could be maintained no longer. As a result, after a period of hiding on the estates of Baron George Šádovský of Sloupno, which were situated near the sources of Elbe, this persecuted band finally left the country in the early months of 1628.

2. THE PERIOD OF GROWTH OF THE REFORMATORY IDEALS OF COMENIUS.

Before the exodus of the pastors and people of the

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- (1) For a discussion of Comenius' dependence upon Andreae, see Dr. J. V. Novák's preface to "The Labyrinth of the World" in *Veškeré Episy Kom. XV*, p.183-187; also Novák: *J. A. Komenský*, p.75-80.
- (2) Cf. Keller, L.: *Johann Valentin Andreae und Comenius*. M.C.G., I, p.229ff. Also Radlach, O.: *Der Protest des Comenius gegen der Vorwurf, er sein ein Sektierer*, beleuchtet aus den Beziehung Andreaes zu Nürnberg. M.C.G., II, p.127ff.

"Unity" took place, an accidental finding of Elias Bodin's Didactic turned Comenius' thoughts back to his earlier attempts at pedagogical reform, and thus started him upon the career of an educational reformer. Accompanied by a friend, Comenius once went out to look over the celebrated library belonging to Milver of Silberstein. There they found a German copy of Bodin's Didactic published in 1621, a work of no great importance in itself. But it gave Comenius an impetus to write for his own nation a systematic exposition of the laws and methods of correct pedagogics. He immediately set to work upon this task, although it was not completed until in Lissa, in Poland, where he found refuge after leaving Bohemia in 1628. He did not, however, publish this work immediately, but kept on improving and enlarging it, expecting with certainty an early return to the homeland. This belief was first awakened in him by the prophecies of Christopher Kotter of Sprottau in Silesia, and of Christina Poniatowska, an orphan cared for in Comenius' family, both of whom prophesied a speedy victory of the Protestant cause, and a restoration of the exiles. But these hopes were not realized, in spite of the temporary success of the Saxon armies during their invasion of Bohemia in 1631. Thus Comenius did not find it possible to publish the original Bohemian version of his "Didactic". Therefore in 1636-37 he reworked it into a Latin version, and as such it was published in the first volume of his "Opera Didactica Omnia" in 1657.

Even though the actual publication of the work places it in a later period of Comenius' life, yet the principles there enunciated guided his whole pedagogic activity in the meantime. Therefore it will not be amiss to consider it in this place. In his "Didactica Magna" (1) Comenius formulated the first practicable school method in which the Baconian principles of induction were applied. In it he placed the chief emphasis on the proposition that education should follow the natural development of the child, adapting the subject matter of instruction to the capacity of the child, and proceeding from the simple to the complex, from the known to the unknown. He plead for a gentle discipline, stressed the vernacular, and emphasized study of realities rather than the theoretical or purely humanistic studies then in vogue.

The whole period of school-instruction was to be divided into four cycles of six years each. The first period was "The School of Infancy", up to the age of six. This was a course of home-training of an elementary, but carefully worked-out character, with which the parents were charged. Comenius wrote a separate treatise on this subject, entitled "Informatorium Školy Matorské" ("The School of Infancy", as it is called in its English translation), which was to serve as a manual of instruction for the parents. For the children from six to twelve he advocated

(1) In his "Opera Didactica Omnia", vol. I, Amsterdam, 1657. An English translation by Keatinge: The Great Didactic, was published in London 1896.

the so-called "vernacular schools", to be established in every village and to be attended by all children of both sexes and both rich and poor alike. This was to be followed by the "Latin School", which was to be maintained in every city, and attended by adolescent boys up to their eighteenth year. Finally, for the youth from eighteen to twenty-four a university was to be established in every kingdom or province. "Such an organization would have made education universal, and would tend to bring about the custom of education according to ability rather than social status, which was a suggestion some three centuries in advance of the times. (1)

In his Great Didactic Comenius indicated some of the reformers of education to whom he was indebted for suggestions, or who at least attempted before his time the task he set for himself. He mentioned Lubin, Helwich, Ritter, Bodin, Glaum, Vogel, Wofstirn, and Grey, as well as Wolfgang Ratke (or Ratichius, 1571-1635). This last named educator is generally considered to have been the immediate predecessor of Comenius in the application of Baconian principles to education, and had evolved a system very much resembling that of Comenius.(2) In fact, Ratke was the first writer to attempt the construction of an educational method on the basis of Baconian realism. He offered

(1) Graves: A Student's History of Education, New York, 1915, p.171.

(2) Cf. Israel, A.: Das Verhältniss der "Grossen Unterrichtslehre" des Comenius zu der Didactic Ratkes. W.C.G., I, p.173, 242.

his system for sale to the various German princes, but otherwise insisted on the strictest secrecy in regard to his new method. Finally, in 1612, he issued "An Address" to the princes of Germany, advertising his new scheme of education. This address was read by Comenius at Herborn, for it had created a great sensation in the educational world. But Ratke's plan itself was not published till 1617, when it appeared under the title "Methodus Nova" at Leipzig. He was finally enabled to open an experimental school at Köthen in Anhalt, but a year and a half later it failed on account of bad management. Ratke himself was thrown into prison as an imposter. Comenius, while gathering materials for his Didactic, appealed to Ratke for advice and suggestions, but in vain; Ratke did not even answer(1).

Comenius spoke with a much greater respect and affection of John Valentine Andreae, (1586-1650) the dean and superintendent at Calw in Württemberg. He cited two replies from Andreae which he had received in answer to his appeals for advice, (2) in which Andreae encouraged the young reformer to persist in his noble attempt and received him among his "admirers", but in what definite way he afforded him help or suggestions in the didactic project does not appear. In fact, he excused himself from any active participation by reference to his age and disappointment in his former attempts. Comenius certainly received many suggestions from

(1) See Comenius' "Methodus linguarum", XXIX,7.

(2) See Comenius' "Methodus linguarum", XXIX,7.

Andreae's writings (as was pointed out in the case of the "Labyrinth of the World"); but it would be incorrect to regard Comenius as a mere imitator of Andreae. This appears quite clearly from the fact that although Comenius had mentioned Andreae in the preface of his *Didactic* as one who encouraged him in the work, yet immediately after that he says: "Setting aside all inventions, ideas, investigations, and suggestions of others, I applied myself to a new investigation of the thing itself and to seek reasons, principles, methods and goals of teaching." (1) In short, even though Comenius studied all his predecessors for suggestions, and sought advice from his contemporaries, his great work was essentially an independent and original application of Baconian realism to the methodology of education.

The book which made Comenius instantly famous and placed him among the chief educational reformers of his age was his "*Janua linguarum reserata*". In Lissa, Comenius became con-rector of the local Latin school immediately upon his coming there (in 1628), and as such was not satisfied with the utterly unsuitable method of teaching Latin which then prevailed. Pupils were taught Latin words with no reference to the things they signified. Moreover, the Latin classics were too difficult for beginners in Latin, nor did they contain the type of real knowledge needed by the elementary scholars. In consequence, Comenius resolved

(1) Preface to the "*Didactica Magna*" 15.

to write a book which should define in a certain order all things together with their properties. It was to be, as the subtitle express it, a "Seminarium linguae et artium", by the aid of which the pupil was to learn not only words, but the things signified as well. Thus he proposed to lead his pupils through the world of nature, of man and his works, as well as political life, education, ethics, and religion. In other words, the pupil was to be led from nature to God.

As an introduction to this work, Comenius prepared "Vestibulum" (1633), which was a collection of one thousand most commonly used Latin words in 427 easy sentences, with a translation into vernacular in parallel columns. This was to prepare the pupil for the "Janua", which itself contained some eight thousand Latin words worked into easy and simple sentences and translated into the vernacular in parallel columns. The material was planned to afford sufficient reading material and grammar for a year.

This whole work had an instant and phenomenal success, and "Janua" was soon translated into twelve European and four Asiatic languages. Comenius became a man of European reputation, and was regarded as among the greatest of educational reformers of the age. As a modern authority, Dr. Cubberley of Leland Stanford Junior University, says: "Beginning in the Janua, and afterwards in the Vestibulum and Orbis Pictus as well, Comenius not only simplified the teaching of Latin by producing the best text-book for

instruction in the subject the world had ever known, but he also shifted the whole emphasis in instruction from words to things, and made the teaching of scientific knowledge and useful world information the keynote of his work". (1)

This led him to consider another great work, which in a way was to be a continuation of his *Janua linguarum*, namely: *Janua rerum*. This was to be an encyclopaedic organization of all knowledge, based throughout on the same principles. It was this work that brought him into a close touch with the English group of reformers. The man who was to serve as a medium of communication between Comenius and the English group was Samuel Hartlib, a philanthropic merchant of London. To understand the objectives of this group, a short digression from the main story is necessary.

Samuel Hartlib (2) lived in London as a merchant since 1628. His father was a well-to-do Polish merchant of Elbing in Prussia, where Samuel was born. His mother was an Englishwoman of high social connections in England. One of her sisters became, by second marriage, the wife of Sir Richard Smith of the Privy Council, and marrying the third time, became a maid-of-honor to Queen Henrietta. (3) Removing to England, Samuel Hartlib became enthusiastically active in a great number of reform movements, and was in

(1) Cubberley: *The History of Education*, New York, 1920, p.413.

(2) The best biography of Hartlib is by Althaus, entitled "Samuel Hartlib", found in "Historisches Taschenbuch" Sechste Folge, 3, p.190ff.

(3) Althaus, op. cit., p.195.

touch with many of the most important scholars both of England and the Continent. A German writer, Stern, said of him that he resembled a bee which carries pollen from flower to flower. (1) Masson also regarded him highly, saying: "By the common consent of all who have explored the intellectual and social history of England in the seventeenth century, he is one of the most interesting and memorable figures of that whole period." (2) Hartlib was interested in education, as is evidenced by the fact that Milton's tract "On Education" (1644) was dedicated to him, and was produced in response to Hartlib's solicitations. It was this interest that made him a sincere admirer of Comenius' educational program as revealed in his "Janua" (3). Hartlib was also deeply interested in the irenic labors of the greatest of irenic workers of the seventeenth century, John Dury.

This latter man, John Dury or Duraeus (4) (1596-1630) was born at Edinburgh, where his father was a prominent Presbyterian minister, and an opponent of the ecclesiastical

(1) Stern, A: John Milton und seine Zeit, vol.II,p.267.

(2) Masson, D.: The life of John Milton, London 1873, vol. III, p.194.

(3) This book had been translated into English by John Anchoran, under the title "The Gate of tongues unlocked and opened". The third edition, which was the earliest I could find to consult, was published in 1637.

(4) Literature concerning Dury is scarce; there is a sketch of his life in Hering: Geschichte der Kirchlichen Unionsversuche, vol. II; Klahr: Johannes Duraeus, in M.C.G., VI, p.65, 191; Smyth-Newman: Life of John Dury, in the "Constructive Review", June 1914; Smyth-Talker: Approaches toward Church Unity, New Haven, 1919, p.124ff; Fust, Rudolf: Johann Duraeus und der Unionsgedanke, M.C.G., xviii, p.44ff.

policy of James VI. On account of this opposition, he was banished from Scotland, and became preacher of the Puritan congregation at Leyden in Holland. His son John studied at Sedan, Leyden, and finally in 1624 entered the University of Oxford. Upon completion of his academic course he became, in 1626, pastor of a congregation of English "adventurers" at Elbing in Prussia, which city was then held by Gustavus Adolphus. There he distinguished himself by his advocacy of union between the two great Protestant bodies, Reformed and Lutheran. He was won for the irenic ideal by a treatise of the local Swedish supreme justice Dr. Caspar Godemann, who gave him the first impetus for the work to which he dedicated his life. (1) Later, the English ambassador, Sir Thomas Roe, who had been sent to Elbing to mediate a peace between Sweden and Poland, encouraged Dury to resign his post at Elbing and to return to England, and there to submit his plans to the bishops and theologians. Dury followed the advice of Sir Roe, and accordingly returned to England in 1630. His plan was received coldly by the majority of English higher clergy, but in spite of this he succeeded in getting the support of the archbishop of Canterbury, George Abbot, and of bishop John Davenant of Salisbury, who himself was active as an irenic writer, and of bishop Joseph Hall of Exeter, as well as of twenty doctors of theology.

His original plan is preserved in a document entitled

(1) Hering: Geschichte, II, p.89.

"The Purpose and Platform of my journey into Germany" (1), and outlines his contemplated itinerary through Prussia, Pomerania, Mark, Brandenburg, Saxony, Hesse, and then through the chief cities of the Hansa to Holland and back to England. In all these places he intended to secure signed promises from the leaders of the churches "to joyne in Prayers, and meditations, to conferre together in Counsell and deliberations, to helpe in meanes and endeavours, to further the Works of Christian peace and ecclesiasticall Unity, betwixt us and Lutherans." In order to accomplish this object, he wished to "settle a way of correspondency betwixt us and them whereby their thoughts and ours may be collected and imparted each to others". Moreover, he wished to gain the Chancellor and the King of Sweden, the "Marquess" of Brandenburg, and the Landgrave of Hesse for this program and to make these princes responsible for setting the German divines at work on this project of unity, as well as to supervise and aid these divines in all manner necessary for the successful carrying out of the project. Moreover, Dury proposed to collect and study all books and manuscripts relative to the question of ecclesiastical unity, and to prepare, on the basis of this study, a book which would outline in detail what needed to be done in the matter of uniting these churches. Besides, he wished to become personally acquainted with all of Germany, their tenets as well as their leading men, "that wee may know them and what use may bee made of them to good works or what may bee

feared from them" .

He then proceeded to Germany, where he visited the camp of Gustavus Adolphus. There he obtained not only the king's consent to his plan, but also its approval by Chancellor Oxenstiern as well as by the king's chaplain, Matthiae. The latter became an important irenic leader in Sweden. But before the king could offer Dury any material assistance in his plans, he was cut down on the battlefield of Lützen. Dury's labors in Germany, Sweden, and Holland were largely fruitless. In order to be able to represent both the Presbyterial and the Episcopal bodies, he received, in 1634, an additional episcopal ordination in the Cathedral of Exeter, without renouncing thereby his previous ordination. In 1641 he was recalled to England by the Parliament, and later became a member of the famous "Westminster Assembly of Divines". Under Cromwell he again visited practically every Protestant country in Europe in pursuance of his noble irenic plan. But again in vain. When Charles II came to the throne of England, Dury was not in favor because of his former connection with Cromwell, and spent the remaining years of his life on the Continent. After fifty years of ceaseless irenic and educational activity, he at last found a resting place at the court of Cassel. No longer able to travel, he kept up a busy correspondence with ecclesiastics, Universities, and princes, never baffled by the almost uniform failure of all his projects. There he died in 1680.

Hartlib became an enthusiastic supporter of Dury's plan, and either made himself, or was appointed, his "agent" in London. As he wrote to a friend whose name is not mentioned in the letter: "Unter anderen ist nicht die geringste gewesen eben dieser Kyrchenfrieden, indem meiner weinigkeit die ganze sachen als einem Agenten in diesen Ländern gleichsam allein befohlen worden. Ich schätze aber dieses werck so hoch, dass ich nechst meiner seeligkeit nichts höhres werde lassen befohlen seyn." (1)

Hartlib's interest in Comenius having been aroused by the latter's "Janua linguarum", he opened correspondence with the new pedagogical reformer, sending him along with greetings also a present of money. Comenius, thanking him for this greeting and gift, mentioned among other things that he was busily engaged upon his "Viridarium" and "Pansophia". (2) Hartlib then requested Comenius to explain more in detail the nature of this undertaking; thereupon Comenius sent him, in 1634, a rather extended description of his intended work. This was published by Hartlib at Oxford, (3) without the knowledge or consent of the author, under the title "Conatuum Comenianorum Praeludia". Hartlib

(1) See the letter dated Oct. 22, 1632, in Kvačala: Korrespondence Kom., I, (1897), p. 15.

(2) See his letter in Patera: Korrespondence Kom., (1892) p. 19-21.

(3) "Conatuum Comenianorum Praeludia ex Bibliotheca S.H. Oxford, 1637. The next edition, published in 1639, bore the title: "J.A. Comenii Pansophiae Prodromus". This became its permanent title: It is reprinted in Voškere Spisy Kom., I, p. 237ff; a German translation found in Beeger and Leutbecher: Ausgewählte Schriften.

explained in the preface that learned men asked him for a transcript of Comenius' sketch so persistently, that he finally determined to have it printed, in order to secure the judgment of learned men of Europe about the plan there delineated. He hoped to gain thereby in the first place co-laborers in the stupendous project of Comenius, and secondly, means to carry the plan to a successful realization.

Thus Hartlib became personally active in furthering the plans of Comenius. The reason for that is easily understood: the project as described in the "Praeludia" fitted in excellently with the program cherished by Hartlib and Dury. For Comenius therein proposed to work out an encyclopaedic compendium of all knowledge, based throughout on the principles of Baconian induction, reason, and the Scriptures. were all men everywhere to be subjected to this unified system of instruction, the author hoped thereby to bring about not only unity in knowledge but unity in faith as well. In other words, he hoped to bring about an organic unity in culture and religion, both in spirit and in organization. The religious instruction which he proposed to be taught to children was purely Biblical, i.e., non-confessional. It was to consist of general truths of Christianity, without a particular confessional interpretation. By training children from infancy in the same system of religious ideas and ideals, gradually the conflicting confessional interpretations would cease to divide Christendom,

and unity would thus be attained. The plan itself will receive a further and more detailed consideration in its proper place; suffice it to say that a program like this would naturally fit in well with the irenic and educational reformatory interests of Hartlib and Dury, and therefore the enthusiasm of Hartlib. Dury does not seem to have given an express opinion in regard to Comenius' plan, most likely because of his all-absorbing interest in his irenic labors in Sweden. But that it was highly favorable seems quite certain, for it was undoubtedly he who called the attention of the Swedish leaders to Comenius' pedagogic reforms, and thus paved the way for his call to Sweden later. As a matter of fact, Comenius was actually called to Sweden in 1638, but did not accept the invitation at that time.

The pansophic plans described in the "Prodromus" were variously received. Descartes expressed himself in general unfavorably about any attempt to unite theology with philosophy. But his friend, Marseenne, a French Minorite, was full of praise for the undertaking, and even offered himself as a co-laborer. John Adolph Tassius, a Hamburg professor, who had attained a wide fame as a mathematician, wrote that if Comenius had done nothing else beyond this work, he would have done enough. (1) Others expressed themselves that such a heavy burden should not rest on Comenius's shoulders alone, but that co-laborers should be sought out

(1) Opera Didactica, I, p.453ff.

and a "Pansophic College" constituted, which would carry out the project. (1) On the other hand, an alarm was spread among the leaders of the "Unity" by one of the "political" officials of the Church, a Polish nobleman by name Jerome Broniewski. This man expressed his serious doubts as to the effect of Comenius' pansophic plan upon the confessional teaching of the "Unity", and especially objected to what he regarded as a confusion of "divinorum cum humanis, theologiae cum philosophia, christianismi cum gentilismo, et sic tenebrarum cum luce". (2) Comenius was forced to defend his project before the seniors, and published in regard to it a special treatise, "Conatuum Pansophicorum Dilucidatio" (3), in which he asserted the thoroughly Christian character of his undertaking. Possibly to make it more acceptable, he presented his scheme under the analogy of Ezekiel's temple, dividing his "Temple of Wisdom" into seven parts. His project was then fully approved.

But the most important criticisms and suggestions came from England. There Joachim Hübner (also known under his Latinized name Fundanus), an Oxford scholar of German nationality, interested himself most earnestly in the pansophic scheme. He was very frank in his praise of the

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- (1) Opera Didactica, I, p.453ff.
 - (2) Opera Didactica, I, p.453ff.
 - (3) See Veškeré Spisy Kom., I, p.389ff.

undertaking, and later became actively associated with it. Comenius once invited him to come and live at Lissa, to facilitate co-operation in the Pansophy; but he refused for reasons relating to his domestic concerns. In an extended letter of December 1638, Hübner elaborated the suggestion made earlier that for such an enormous task a large body of co-laborers, or a College of learned men, was necessary; moreover, that the scheme should include in its provisions needs of the whole humankind, instead of youth only. (1) This proved to be a very fruitful suggestion, which was promptly incorporated in Comenius' later plans. As a matter of fact, Comenius wished as free a discussion of his plans and suggestions for their improvement as he could secure; he even considered calling of a "congress" of the friends of reform to meet at Hamburg, but Hübner expressed the opinion that he and the English friends could not come. Then the matter was dropped.

This close association with England in the pansophic labors finally resulted in Comenius' call to England. Hartlib had gained for his project a young clergyman, John Cauden, who in 1660 became bishop of Exeter. He preached a sermon before the Parliament on November 29, 1640 on the topic "The Love of Truth and Peace", in which he recommended to the Parliament the pansophic and irenic work of Comenius and Dury, and urged that body to call these men to

(1) Kvačala: Korrespondence Kom., I, (1897), p.51ff.

England. (1) The Parliament adopted the suggestion, and both Comenius and Dury were called to England in the spring of 1641. But Comenius did not know whence the invitation came until upon his arrival. Then Parliament entered into negotiations with him, and it is almost certain that the Chelsea College foundation, which was originally founded by James I as a "spiritual garrison" for the "maintenance of all controversies against the papists" (2) would have been made over into a pansophical college devoted to the working out of the plans suggested by Comenius. The pansophic program was worked out in much greater detail in his "Via Lucis", written during the winter of 1641-1642, but the whole project was finally shattered by the outbreak of the Civil Wars.

The "Via Lucis" formulated the program in a much more definite way than the previous tentative outlines of the undertaking had done. It contained a demand for four requisites: universal books; universal schools; a pansophic college of learned men; and finally a universal language. Of these the most important addition to the plan as outlined in the "Prodromus" was the pansophic college. As has already been mentioned, this was advocated by Hübner, but he was not alone in having made this suggestion, for it represented a definite item of reform as worked out by the Hartlib group.

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- (1) Novák, J.V.: "Komenského idea světové akademie mírové" in "Naše Doba" XXIV, p.405 and 496; also Drtina: Komenský v Anglii, in "Národní Listy", LX, No.313.
(2) Fuller: Church History, 1845, vo. V., p.397.

This college was to be composed of learned men of all nations, who were to be charged with the duty of investigating all departments of human knowledge, and embodying the results of their studies in textbooks for the use of the universal pansophic schools. This learned body would likewise exercise oversight over the whole pansophic educational system, and link the various countries together by means of constant correspondence. Moreover, the college would become a permanent center of the whole educational world, a unifying principle, as well as the central authority. Some modern writers ascribe the original idea of such an "universal college" to John Valentine Andreae. But there is sufficient evidence to show that as far as Comenius was concerned, he had always and consistently traced the idea back to Sir Francis Bacon, and had considered the latter thinker to have suggested the idea of the college for the first time in his "New Atlantis". (1)

But signs of the threatening civil war not only put an end to the hopes of the London group of Comenius' friends, but also hastened his departure. It happened that a Dutch nobleman, Ludwig de Geer, residing in Sweden, invited him to that land, offering him means for furthering his studies as well as the support of such learned men as he chose to associate with himself. Indeed, Sweden was not the only country which was

(1) This whole question of the relation of Comenian "college" to similar proposals of other thinkers is treated in Appendix A.

solicitous of gaining the services of Comenius, for even the great minister of France, Cardinal Richelieu, invited him to Paris. Two English nobles and two bishops, in the presence of Dury, were deliberating upon this offer, and finally advised Comenius to accept it. But he preferred the Swedish offer, hoping that the latter country would be in a better position ultimately to secure the repatriation of the Bohemian exiles. Therefore he sent his friend Hübner to explain to Richelieu the reason for declining the French offer. Hübner learned from the Cardinal, who then lay on his death-bed, that the plans entertained by him referred to the establishment of a pansophic school at Paris, and he wished Comenius' aid in the project. In view of the work which Sweden later practically imposed upon Comenius, this French offer would certainly have proven more congenial to him. But it was too late then. (1)

Before Comenius left England, he was bound by his friends, as he himself says, "that I ought to let my services be employed in nothing short of the Pansophic design". He travelled through Holland, where he visited some friends, and also the great philosopher Des Cartes, who in a four hour conversation urged him forward in his pansophic undertaking. A curious item found nowhere else but in Cotton Mather's *Magnalia*, informs us that Governor Winthrop (presumably of Massachusetts) who was then travelling in the Low Countries, offered to Comenius the presidency of Harvard. This, however,

(1) Kvačala: Komenský, p.41

for many weighty considerations, is to be regarded with grave doubts as to its accuracy, for Governor Winthrop was not travelling in Europe during the year 1642, nor was the presidency of the Harvard College vacant. On the other hand, it seems highly probably that the Winthrop in question was John Winthrop, Jr., the son of the Massachusetts governor and later governor of Connecticut, who happened to be in England during that time on private business. He may have spoken with Comenius about the presidency of Harvard in a general way, for he had no official authority to offer him the office. He was well acquainted with the Hartlib group, and corresponded with it even after his return to America. (1)

When Comenius arrived in Sweden, his new protector, De Geer, introduced him to bishop John Matthiae, former tutor of Queen Christina, who in turn introduced him to the Queen. But the principal negotiation was carried on with the famous Chancellor of Sweden, Axel Oxenstiern, and with Dr. John Skyte, Chancellor of the University of Upsala. (2) The Chancellor expressed his approval of Comenius' didactic work as resting on firmer foundations than that of Wolfgang Ratke, but as for his pansophic scheme, which he knew from the "Prodromus" and his

(1) For a detailed discussion of this whole problem see Appendix B.

(2) "These two exercised me in colloquy for four days; and chiefly the former, that Eagle of the North. He inquired into the foundations of both my schemes, the Didactic and Pansophic, so searchingly that it was unlike anything that had been done before by any of my learned critics".-- Introduction to part II of the "Opera Didactica Omnia".

private conversation, his opinion was somewhat adverse. He advised Comenius to concentrate for the present on his didactic work. "Into no one's mind do I think such things have come before", he said. "Stand upon these grounds of yours; either so shall we come some time to agreement, or there will be no way at all left. My advice, however, is that you proceed first to do a good stroke in the school business, and to bring the study of the Latin tongue to a greater facility, and so prepare a broader and clearer way for those bigger matters".(1)

Since Skyte's as well as Dezeer's solicitations were to accept the offer of reforming the Swedish schools, Comenius, strongly against his inclinations and will, submitted. He was indeed not forgetful of his promise made to the English group, and had he been independent he would have very likely renounced the Swedish subsidy; but in his straightened circumstances, and especially because of his hope that the Swedish service might ultimately result in substantial advantages to the cause of the Bohemian exiles, he resigned himself to the task. He indeed was chided for this action by his English friends in a long epistle in which they tried to draw him back to the pan-sophic project. Comenius, who had in the meantime left Sweden, sent this epistle to Sweden with a request to be released from the didactic labors, but was refused. Thus "nothing was left me but to obey, and plod on against my will in the clay of logomachies for eight whole years. Fortunately this was not till I

(1) Introduction to part II of the "Opera Didactica Omnia".

had printed at Danzig, in the year 1643, my already-made efforts at a better detection of the foundations of Pansophy, under the title of "Pansophiae Diatyposis Ichⁿographica et Orthographica", reprinted immediately at Amsterdam and Paris." (1)

In order to be near Sweden as well as Poland, where, being since 1632 one of the seniors, and secretary of the board of seniors of the "Unity", his presence was often needed, he selected the Prussian port city of Elbing as his residence. There he settled down to his allotted task of preparing text-books for the Swedish schools. He had several helpers in this work, although the majority of them were not independent investigators or authors, but merely copyists or amanuenses. The most important work which he published during this period was "Linguarum Methodus Novissima", (2) which is a work of great thoroughness and importance. This treatise was organically connected with other books which were either re-worked or newly composed during this time, namely, "Vestibulum", "Janua", and "Atrium", together with appropriate corresponding dictionaries and grammars. All these text-books met with the full approval of the Swedish commission to which they were submitted in 1646, and were received with enthusiasm by the numerous pedagogical reformers and friends of reform.

But Comenius could not rest content with these scholastic

(1) Introduction to part II of the "Opera Didactic". A copy of the English translation of this work, made by Jeremy Collier, and entitled "A Patterne of Universall Knowledge", London 1651, is in the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

(2) Veškeré Spisy Kom., VII, p.183ff.

labors alone; his soul was on fire with the pansophic ideals, realization of which he considered his proper life-task. As he himself says in his "Pansophiae Diatyposis" in regard to this: "As for me, I shall willingly doe whatsoever God through my weakness will have done: and as soon as I shall be permitted to returne to these studies (Pansophy), I will make ready a Sceleton of all Pansophy and expose it to public censure." (1)

Moreover, he was induced to give some of his time and labor to matters which form a part of his pansophic scheme, namely the irenic labors among the various branches of Christendom. For example, he wrote at the instigation of the local Reformed preacher, Bartholomew Nigrin, a treatise, in which he proposed the calling of a general council of all Christendom for the purpose of working out of organic unity among all branches of the Church universal. This was his "De Dissidentium in rebus fidei Christianorum reconciliatione Hypomnemata quaedam, etc."

Moreover, he entered into literary contest with a Capuchin monk, Valerian Magni, the result of which were two books under the title "Judicium de judicio Valeriani Magni Mediolanensis, super Catholicorum et Acatholicorum credendi regula, Sive Absurditatum Echo", and "Judicium Ulrici Neufeldii de Fidei Catholicae regula Catholica, etc." According to Comenius himself, these were intended to be irenic, rather than polemic, treatises. A most important step forward in his Pansophy was the projected work "De rerum humanorum emendatione consultatio catholica", which was to be comprised in seven parts. He had actually written

(1) A Patterne of Universall Knowledge, p.179.

at the time the first part, the "Panegersia". These, by the way, were not his first irenic writings, for he had even earlier expressed his convictions on the subject and formulated a tentative plan of accommodation in such works as "Iaggacus redivi^vus" (1632) and "Cesta Pokoje" (--"The Way of Peace", 1637).

Besides these literary labors, Comenius gave way to the solicitations of his Church and others to attend the meetings connected with the proposed "Colloquium" at Thorn, by which the Polish king, Wladislaw IV, hoped to unite the ecclesiastical parties of the kingdom, Roman Catholics, Lutherans, and Reformed (among whom the "Unitas Fratrum" was subsumed), into one organic body. Comenius was, of course, personally deeply interested in this project, but because of the prohibitory attitude of his Swedish employers did not at first feel free to accept the commission. Later, however, throwing all fear aside, he attended the preliminary meetings at Orla in Lithuania, and at Lissa, as well as the "Colloquium" proper at Thorn (1645). His part there will be discussed later, and from it will appear the genuine interest of Comenius in the great work proposed by the meeting. However, he correctly foresaw that the meeting was doomed to failure because of the party spirit which dominated the participants. The course of events proved him correct.

Thus, although the Elbing period (1642-1648) was one of intense labor mainly didactic in character, yet the irenic activities occupy an important place in it. This suggests the consideration of Comenius' place among the irenic leaders of his time. The subject, of course, need not be discussed in

detail, for it will receive further explication as the main thesis of this work. A cursory glance over the main features must suffice.

The relation of Comenius to the great English irenic worker, John Dury, has already been noted. It may here be remarked that Peter Figulus, whom Comenius had befriended as a poor orphan and had educated for the ministry, and who later had married Comenius' daughter Elizabeth (1), became a travelling companion of Dury. Beginning in 1643, Figulus for the next seven years was associated with the work of peace as Dury's companion and helper, and that fact alone indicates the active sympathy and cooperation which existed between Comenius and Dury. (2) Moreover, the appeal which Dury made to the synod of the "Unitas Fratrum" (1636) for cooperation in his irenic work was most readily granted, and the desired aid and cooperation promised. At that occasion prayers were ordered in all churches of the Unity for the success of his undertaking, and steps were taken to appeal to the princes for aid in the project. (3). How far Comenius was directly instrumental in procuring this assistance for Dury is impossible to say, for the whole Church

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- (1) Their renowned son, Daniel Ernest Jablonski (which is the old family name, discarded by Peter for "Figulus") became the Berlin court preacher; it was through him that the present-day "Moravian Church" derived its episcopal ordination. It was Jablonski who consecrated Count Zinzendorf as bishop in the succession of "Unitas Fratrum". Moreover, Jablonski has a claim to grateful remembrance as one of the founders of the "Berlin Academy".
- (2) See Souder: Comenius, Dureaus, Figulus. (M.C.G. IV, p.322).
- (3) Gindely: Dekrety Jednoty Bratrské, Prague, 1865, p.306-307; 310-311.

shared, in general, his pacific spirit; but we can rest assured that he did his part to bring about the favorable action in the matter.

The other great irenic leader of the century was George Calixtus (1586-1656), who may be called the Melancthon of the seventeenth century. He was educated at the University of Helmstedt, which had a name for its conciliatory spirit. During the years 1609-1613 he travelled through Germany, Belgium, England and France. Thus he came to know personally the views of many leading Reformed, Anglican, and even Roman Catholic theologians. Upon his return he became professor of theology at his Alma Mater, the University of Helmstedt, where he soon gained fame as a foremost scholar, especially in the field of dogmatic theology and patristics.

The harsh and arid dogmatic polemics, so characteristic of that age, filled him with pity. He conceived a plan of uniting the three parties, Reformed, Lutherans and Roman Catholics, on the basis of "what has been believed always, everywhere and by all". To him theology was less important than religion. He proposed as the commons the Scriptures and the consensus of the first five centuries, especially as expressed in the "Apostles Creed". (1) He held that all the various groups or denominational bodies within the Christian church were based upon the common substratum of the Ancient Church, and in that sense were one. They have departed from this Unity by reason of development of different characteristics or by adoption of various new dogmas and customs. They way to

(1) See the letter of Calixtus of 1646, cited in Friedrich: Georg Calixtus, p.22.

unite them was to return to the status of the primitive church, which was recognized by all. This primitive teaching is in brief contained in the Apostolicum, which comprises everything necessary to salvation. The method of this process Calixtus defined in his "Desiderium et studium concordiae ecclesiae", in nine points:

(1) Such matters as are necessary to salvation shall be distinguished from the unnecessary; mutual toleration shall be exercised.

(2) All mutual recriminations shall cease.

(3) All questions which do not contribute to the upbuilding of piety or have no importance for the sacraments or the whole church, shall be passed over, and above all shall not be discussed before the common people.

(4) The differences which the people must be informed about shall be explained in a fair and kind spirit.

(5) As for the sacraments, the "quod sit" shall be considered important, and an absolute unanimity in the "quomodo sit" shall not be required as necessary.

(6) An acceptance of the simplest doctrinal formula shall be regarded as sufficient.

(7) All propositions which were disapproved of shall be avoided; no man who had formerly held such, shall be exposed to ignominy on that account.

(8) All men shall strive to understand the newly adopted teaching in its rightful meaning.

(9) The teaching of the various confessions shall be

taken from their official creedal statements.(1)

Very soon Calixtus was openly attacked as a "cryptopapist" by a certain Hanoverian zealot, Buscher by name (1640). From that time onward Calixtus and his University became a target for the arrows of the strict Lutheran party, represented by such polemicists as Calovius of Wittenberg. One of these writers, Nislonta, in his "Anticrisis", accused Calixtus of "Papism, Calvinism, Arminianism, Synergism, Chimerianism, and finally of atheism". (2) When in 1645 Calixtus was sent, at the request of the Elector of Brandenburg, as a colleague of the Königsberg Reformed delegation to the Colloquy of Thorn, this gave the Saxon Lutherans the gravest offense. Calixtus was charged, in the most abusive fashion, with downright apostasy. It was at Thorn that Comenius and Calixtus, the two champions of brotherly love and church union, must have met and exchanged their views. Both worked for the same ideals at Thorn, and both suffered calumny and most virulent abuse in consequence. (3)

What were the respective programs of the three leaders, and how did they differ from each other? As for Dury's program, it was surprisingly anticipatory, by some two and a half centuries, of the modern conferences on Faith and Order. He suggested that all parties "who take the Holy Scriptures

(1) Friedrich: op.cit., p.19.

(2) Friedrich: op.cit., p.19.

(3) For a fuller biography, of.: Dowding, W.E.: George Calixtus. Oxford, 1863. Also Friedrich, H.: Georg Calixtus, der unionsman des 17. Jahrhunderts. Anklam, 1891.

for their Rule of Faith and Practice", draw up a statement of their fundamental articles of belief and practice. Then let a committee be appointed from each one of the parties, which would be charged with the task of reducing these various denominational statements of faith to one general pronouncement on such matters in which all agree. The residu^um, in which disagreement still remains, should then be studied in common, "by the most moderate of each Party". The result of their studies, or the agreement reached by them, should then be offered to the respective bodies for adoption. (1) Thus Dury wanted to accomplish the pacification and organic union of Christendom by conference and arbitration--certainly a thoroughly modern method.

Moreover, Dury stressed the "practical divinity" rather than the dogmatic confessionalism then in vogue. He bewailed the prevailing practice of stressing the "particular things" rather than the "main things which discover the life and the spiritual estate of Christ as the Truth is in Him".

Calixtus did not wait for a conference of divines to formulate a statement of faith which would be acceptable to all, but proposed one himself. That was the Bible, or in a more simple and concrete form, the Apostolicum, as the basis of communion. He strove to have the various parties accept this as their common starting point. It is to be noted furthermore that in common with Dury, Calixtus stressed the "practical divinity", rather than the theological subtleties. Thus, in

(1) Approaches toward Church Unity, ed. by Smyth and Walker. New Haven, 1919, p.128-129.

general, one might say that the difference between these two men consisted in this: one advocated a conference for the purpose of making a common agreement, while the other aimed to persuade men to receive an already prepared basis of agreement. Further than that, Dury's scheme would unite Christendom on the basis of the consensus of the seventeenth century, while Calixtus would have all be satisfied with the consensus of the first five centuries.

Comenius was at first, up to the period of his pan-sophic ideal, in a general agreement with the schemes above described, being possibly nearer to Calixtus' than to Dury's. But that was not the case after 1637. Then he had one unified program, or an "all-cure" for the ills of church, society, as well as state. In short, this panacea was a proper education of all humanity. All education, in Comenius' sense, leads to God, and includes the moral and spiritual development as well as the physical and intellectual. He, therefore, proposed to educate all men in a uniform way, by means of instruction that was uniform, and likewise by uniform methods. Thus he hoped to attain--as far as it could be attained with humankind every member of which is different from the other--a certain measure of commonly shared information, tolerably homogeneous world-view, and fundamentally common religious convictions, which would tend mightily to unite humankind in the most essential concerns of life. It is apparent, then, that his plan was

unique, and thereby Comenius rendered a distinct contribution to the irenic endeavors of his age as well as ours.

In 1648 Comenius was elected senior bishop of the Bohemian branch of the Unity, and as such was the last bishop of that particular body. This necessitated his removal to Lissa. He left Elbing on the 31st of July, 1648. (1) The laborious years of his Swedish service were over, for his hopes of Swedish aid of his poor fellow-exiles at the final settlement of the Thirty Year's war were most rudely shattered by the signing of the Peace of Westphalia. This settlement confirmed and made permanent the sad lot of the Bohemian exiles, and thus effectually extinguished the last spark of hope of restoration, which was kept alive all those twenty or more year. In the anguish of his soul Comenius expostulated with the Swedish Chancellor and with Bishop Matthiae; but in vain. It was the consciousness that an utter ruin of his beloved Church would not be averted that impelled him to write "The Last Will of the dying mother, the Unity of the Brethren", wherein he advised his flock to unite with other churches as opportunity offered, and solemnly distributed among the various churches the heir-looms of his own communion. This is one of the most pathetic of Comenius' treatises, especially the last part of it, in which he took farewell of his beloved native land. The prophetic words, "I trust in God that after the storm of wrath which our sins provoked upon our heads is over, the rule of thine affairs will again be restored to thee, thou Bohemian people!", furnished inspiration to millions who fought or

(1) See Elbing register item, in Toeppen: Zur Lehengeschichte des Comenius, N.C.G. I, p.65.

otherwise strove for Czechoslovak independence during the late World War. The liberated nation then welcomed with enthusiasm the solemn words of President Masaryk in his first address to the National Convention, in which he recalled the ancient prophecy and bade the nation to rejoice in its fulfillment.

After the Swedish disappointment, there loomed upon the horizon of Comenius another saviour. This was the princely family of Rákóczies, rulers of Transylvania. This territory, it will be remembered, included a much larger region than that now commonly associated with that name. Many exiles, especially from Moravia, found refuge in the territories of this princely family. Both George I, and later his widow, Susan Lorántfi, attempted several times to gain the services of Comenius for the educational task which Alsted, the former teacher of Comenius at Herborn, and afterwards in the Transylvanian employ, relinquished upon his death in 1639. Susan Lorántfi desired to establish pansophic schools at Sáros-Patak, the princely residence of the Transylvanian court in Northern Hungary. With these invitations the Hungarian exiles, also joined their pleading voices, but as long as Comenius believed in Swedish aid, he would not listen to these offers. Now the case was different. And yet it was no consideration of advantages which might accrue to himself which actuated him to accept the Transylvanian invitation, but what he came to believe to have been the voice of God. It was at this time that Comenius came under an almost overpowering influence of his one-time school-fellow, Nicholas Drábík, a priest of the Unity at Lednice, who

proclaimed himself to be a prophet. Drabík claimed that God revealed to him that Sigismund, son of Susan Lorántfi, would become the king of Hungary, and as such would come forth as the champion of the oppressed Protestants. Moreover, that he, Drabík, together with Comenius, were divinely commissioned to encourage and persuade Sigismund to accept this heroic rôle. At first Comenius expressed his doubt and dissent; but after a searching self-examination and earnest prayer, he believed himself to have been directed to accept Drabík's prophecy as genuine. Then the hopes of Comenius revived again, and he gave himself anew to dreams of a restoration of the exiles to their ancient home.

He removed to Sáros-Patak in October 1650. His plans were fundamentally the same as those that actuated him in England, although in detail there was a marked change, traceable to the influence of Drabík's prophecies. In the first place, Comenius wanted to establish a pansophic school, and secondly, a pansophic college of learned men. But above that he was determined to persuade the Transylvanian prince to play the rôle of a new Gustavus Adolphus as a protector of oppressed Protestants. (1) This latter feature included an appeal to the prince to arm for a war against the House of Habsburg as well as against the Roman Church. But these warlike counsels found little favor with the Transylvanian court, and were especially opposed by Comenius' friends, Bisterfeld, a court counsellor,

(1) "Sermo Secretis Nathanis ad Davidem", in Kvačala: Korresp. II, p.249-262.

even though prince Sigismund himself may have been personally favorably inclined to listen to them. But that ruler's early death (February 4, 1652) was the first blow to the plans of Comenius, and a proof of the untrustworth nature of Drabik prophecies. Comenius indeed expressed his perplexity over the event, saying: "As it was not only our own conviction, but along with us many of our friends near and far held the comforting hope that he (-- Prince Sigismund of Transylvania) was born to great things, and was appointed by destiny to be a benefactor of the people. Thus we do not mourn his loss alone, but the number of those who share in our cries of grief is immense." (1)

But with an ease and alacrity characteristic of many a "prophet" in history, Drabik transferred the hopes of accomplishing the great work expected of Sigismund to the successor of the deceased prince, George II. This ruler, however, proved to be a disappointment also. It was then that hopes were turned toward Cromwell in England, although this change does not seem to have been inspired by Drabik. The appeal to the Lord Protector is contained in a letter of Peter Figulus, the son-in-law of Comenius, sent to Hartlib, wherein the former asked the Londoner to deliver to Cromwell a petition "written in the name of all our exiled nation, and directed to the Lord Protector, his highnesse's council, and the Parliament". In it Cromwell was implored to take up the cause of the oppressed Protestants of Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, and Austria. "There

(1) In "Opera Didactica", III, p.736.

are thousand of those that wait and pray to God for some *viška* who would begin a religious war for the Protestant cause; yet none of the princes in Germany have the courage to oppose themselves against the house of Austria". (1) But beyond Cromwell's offer of land in Ireland for the settlement of the Protestant exiles, which was rejected, he seems to have done nothing more in the matter. An apparently similar appeal was sent to the king of Sweden through bishop Matthiae. (2)

It would seem from various notices in the letters of Comenius and those immediately connected with him that he, Hartlib, Dury, and an unknown number of others, among whom we surmise were included Figulus and a certain baron Sádovský, were forming some secret Evangelical Association charged with the task of overthrowing the House of Austria. This would appear to be a wild guess, where there not letters extant which are full of intimations of such purport. In one of them Comenius informed Hartlib that the greatest caution is necessary as a very highly placed Hungarian official had expressed himself that "tres esse audimus Caesaris juratos hostes, Duracum quendam et J. A. Comenium; tertii nomen nondum scire possumus." This third man was undoubtedly Hartlib. (3)

(1) The full text in Kvačala: Korrespondence Kom., I (1897), p. 186-187.

(2) Letter of Figulus to Hartlib, of Nov. 29, 1654, in Kvačala: Korrespondence Kom., I, p.194--"for the known Prince is fully resolved to join himself with other confederates to prosecute the work of G(od)'s vengeance upon his enemies, and of the deliverance of his oppressed and persecuted People even with the spending of himselfe and spilling of his blood."

(3) Kvačala: Korrespondence Kom., I, p.187.

In the meantime, the initiated circles were in a state of agitated expectancy. Drabík prophesied great changes to occur soon, involving the fall of the pope and destruction of the House of Austria to follow the death of Emperor Ferdinand III, which was to take place in 1654. There were rumors current that Cromwell was to unite his forces with the Dutch, and with the help of the Protestants of Bohemia to make himself an "Imperator". (1) But all these expectations vanished into thin air, unless Charles X of Sweden had really been actuated by some motives emanating from these mysterious Comenian circles in his invasion of Poland in 1655. In this connection it is significant that George II Rakoczy actually joined his forces with those of the Swedish king during the invasion of Poland. Had Comenian exhortation anything to do with this action of the Transylvanian prince?

The scholastic labors of Comenius during his stay in Hungary were important from the point of view that he had an opportunity to work out his pansophic ideal school. This was to consist of a six-year course, carefully graded, with a seventh year of study which was mainly theological in character. "Had such a school become common, secondary education in Europe might have been a century in advance of where the nineteenth century found it". "Unlike all educational practice of his time and later, Comenius here provided for an

(1) Letter written by an unknown person to Hartlib, dated July 25, 1654 in Kvačala: Korrespondence Kom., I, p.188.

educational ladder of the present-day American type, wholly unlike the European two-class school system which later evolved". (1) It is true that out of the projected seven classes only three were actually put into operation, because Comenius' short stay did not permit any further extension. But his experiment met, in general, with full success, although he himself was greatly dissatisfied with the Hungarian "raw material" of students, which seemed to have been unusually "raw". Moreover, the court did not support his project as generously as it deserved, possibly because of the visionary political program of Comenius. He wrote some important pedagogic treatises, the best known and most popular of which was the famous "Orbis Pictus". This work "is the first illustrated reading book on record" (2), and by its aid language study of the most elementary type was greatly facilitated. (3) It is not only an easy primer of the Latin language but is admirably adapted to teach the vernacular languages as well, for the Latin text was translated into vernacular and placed side by side. Moreover, the school plays which Comenius introduced into the Patak school became extremely popular. This was an attempt to dramatize

(1) Cubberly: The History of Education, New York, 1920, p.412.

(2) Graves: A Student's History of Education, New York, 1920, p.412.

(3) "Orbis sensualium Pictus. Hoc est, omnium Fundamentalium in mundo rerum et vita actionum Pictura et Nomenclatura". Norimberg, 1568. Although the book was prepared in Hungary, its publication was delayed many years on account of the difficulty of procuring suitable illustrations for the text.

the subjects of study, and was worked out by him in "Schola ludus". (1) It was in this respect that it becomes clearly apparent how far ahead of his time Comenius was to entertain thoughts such as the dramatization of the subject-matter of school studies. In these plays he attempted to dramatize all that was presented in "Janua linguarum", and in such a pleasant way to teach both the subject-matter there contained as well as the vocabulary. Another noteworthy, or rather startling, innovation which Comenius introduced into his Hungarian school was a regular gymnastic training of the body.

(1) Schola ludus, h. e., januae linguarum praxis scenica, etc. Sáros-Patak, 1655.

3. THE PERIOD OF ELABORATION OF THE MATURE PLANS OF COMENIUS

Comenius returned to Lissa in July, 1655, feeling that the prophecies of Brabík failed, and thus his stay in Hungary was no longer necessary. But his residence at Lissa was not to be of a long duration. Charles X of Sweden had in the meantime invaded Poland, in July 1655, and soon the whole of Greater Poland was in his power. He found it easier, however, to defeat the Poles than to conquer Poland. The inevitable reaction soon set in and Charles, pressed by the Polish army, was finally forced to conclude peace. During the re-conquest of Poland by the Polish army, the city of Lissa, which was known for its pro-Swedish leanings, was taken and completely destroyed (1656). Comenius, as senior bishop of the Unity, had regarded it his duty to stay with his people, and in order to allay all suspicion of any intention on his part to remove from the city, had not even sent his books and manuscripts away. Now in the catastrophe which befell Lissa Comenius lost almost everything he possessed. Not only what little he had saved for his family was destroyed, but a great number of his literary works, as well as his library, perished. This loss was estimated at 3000 thalers of the Empire. (1) His Latin-Bohemian and Bohemian-Latin dictionary, on which he had spent forty-six years of labor, fell a prey to flames, and with it a monumental work of the greatest importance to Bohemian literature. His pansophic writings, on some of which he had labored for twenty-five years, and which were

(1) Pell's letter of 17/27 July, 1656; in Šmaha: Zkáza Lešna, in Česká škola, 1889. p.389.

almost ready for publication, were likewise lost. (1)

After this catastrophe, the effects of which a man of Comenius' years could never hope to retrieve, he was offered refuge in the hospitable Holland, in the Amsterdam home of the son of his former patron, Laurentius DeGeer. There, in the city which offered secure haven to men of the most diverse opinions who were tolerated nowhere else, he at last found rest. He expressed his sense of gratitude for this peaceful retreat in the preface of his "Opera Didactica", dedicated to the city of Amsterdam, saying: "The storm of God which suddenly destroyed my second mother-land, Poland, cast me upon your shores, O Holland! You were long considered a haven of refuge by the oppressed, as well as you, Amsterdam, you pearl among cities!" Friends extended to him a deeply appreciated aid in the form of building up his library. Thus he began to revive again, and threw himself into his accustomed arduous labors. It was here that he published, at the instigation of the council of the city of Amsterdam, his "Opera Didactica Omnia". This monumental work contains, in four parts, all his didactic writings

(1) "Ego omnium jacturam passus, maxime ob illa dolui, quae nullo pretio redimi possunt, manuscripta. In quibus sunt Pansophica mea, quae ad mundum descripta proloque drata sunt. Sylva item pansophica definitionum (caqua sapientiae) thesaurus"--Comenius in his letter to Hensenthaler, in Patera, Korrespondence Kom., (1892) p.189. For a description of the fall of Lissa see Mr. Pell's letter to Mr. Hartlib, in Patera, op.cit., p.186. Moreover, Comenius' own description in "Lesnae Excidium Anno MDCLVI in Aprili factum, fide historica narratum." Amsterdam, 1656.

written from 1627 to 1657. The first part comprises the works written at Lissa, the second those of the Elbing period, the third the writings composed at Sáros-Patak, and the last part his Amsterdam writings. These last named were mostly in the nature of a review or self-criticism of his pedagogical activity. Thus, for instance, his "Ventilabrum Sapientiae" expressed his strict judgment upon his didactic labors according to their real worth measured by successful results. Other treatises, as "E scholasticis Labyrinthis Exitus in planum", "Latium redivivum", "Typographeum vivum" and "Paradisus juventutis Christianae reducendus", were further explications or simplifications of his pedagogic system. Finally, the concluding treatise, "Traditio Lampadis", may be likened to Comenius' didactic last will, for in it he encouraged other men like David Vechner, J. Rave, P. Colbovius, J. Tolnai, J. H. Ursinus, M. Hesenthaler, A. Weinheimer, J. Spliess, and Justus Docemius, to carry on his didactic labors. He had received his commission to carry on the light from J. V. Andreae in 1628, when he consulted the older man about the "Didactic" which he was then preparing (1). Now he himself passed that commission on to younger men.

In the year 1657 Emperor Ferdinand III died, and George Rákoczy, invading Poland with his army, made there a junction with the army of Charles X of Sweden. Thus it seemed to Comenius that at last the prophecies of Drabik were about to be fulfilled. He called together a group of his friends to

(1) See Kvačala: Korrespondence Kom., I, (1897) p.1 and 2.

the house of De Geer, and there the question was discussed whether the prophecies of Drabik and of others should be published. Comenius was appointed to perform the task, and the resulting book bore the title "Lux in Tenebris". It contained the prophecies of Christopher Kotter, of Christina Poniatowska, to whose prophecies Comenius added a tractate "De veris et falsis Prophetis", and finally the revelations of Nicholas Drabik. The book was republished in 1663, and finally in 1665, under the title of "Lux e tenebris, novis radiis aucta". This last edition was prompted by the hope of a successful fulfillment of the prophecies, which was afforded Comenius by the intended revolt of the Hungarian magnates against Austria, planned after the Peace of Vasvar in 1664. The unfortunate end of the insurrection Comenius did not live to see, or it would have added another disappointment to the long list of those already experienced. But the prophet Drabik expiated his prophecies by the loss of his life, for he was executed by the Austrians in Pressburg in 1671. A copy of Comenius' "Lux e Tenebris" was thrown into the flames which reduced the dead body of the prophet to ashes. (1)

(1) In fact, as late as 1892, when all schools in Bohemia were preparing to celebrate the tercentenary of Comenius' birthday, this was forbidden by order of the minister of education, Freiherr von Gautsch. See Šibrť: Bibliografie, V, part III, p.701. This order emanated from Emperor Francis Joseph, to whom prince Fürstenberg, archbishop of Olomouc, had shown a copy of Comenius' "Lux e Tenebris" with offending clauses underscored.

These prophecies pictured in glowing terms the imminent destruction of the House of Austria as well as the downfall of the Pope, and as such created an immense sensation at the time. But when none of the pictured events came to pass, the public interest subsided, until the Turks besieged Vienna in 1683. Then the book was again in great demand. As Bayle says in his Dictionary that "had Vienna been taken, Drabicius would have been more talked of than the Grand Vizier."

The only tangible result which came to reward Comenius' very honest and sincere zeal in a cause which he considered divine, was that a few men attacked him for his credulity. Among these Nicholas Arnold, a divinity professor at Franeker, and Samuel de Marets (Maresius) a divinity professor at Groningen, were the most prominent.

Another serious literary conflict into which Comenius plunged was with a Polish anti-trinitarian, Daniel Zwicker, who published in 1658 a book entitled "Ironicum irenicorum, seu reconciliationis hodiernorum Christianorum norma triplex". In this book Zwicker professed to find something good in all sects of Christendom, and proposed to construct out of them one catholic Church; but in reality he interpreted this Catholic Church in the Socinian sense. Toward the end of the book, enumerating those who were in agreement with him in this proposal, he mentioned, among others, also Comenius.

Feeling called upon to answer this unwelcome notice of his irenic activities--for her had always and consistently

opposed Socinianism--Comenius answered Zwicker in his "De Irenico Irenicorum. Hoc est: Conditionibus pacis a Socini secta reliquo Christiano orbi oblatis, ad omnes Christianos facta admonitio". This book, published in 1660, was followed by an interchange of replies. Zwicker wrote two, to both of which Comenius replied, besides writing some other treatises directed against the Socinians. That both Comenius and his friends felt this literary struggle to be unfruitful and wasteful of time, is apparent from a letter of Martlib to Dr. Worthington: "I hope the quarrel is ended between him (--Comenius) and the Irenical antagonist..... He is fully resolved for the future to undertake no other treatises but only the pansophical work and the P.M." (--Philosophicae Methodus) (1)

Comenius was also very active in the service of his dispersed flock for which he cared as best he could. Not only did he conduct extensive collections for the benefit of those among the exiles who were reduced to utter poverty, but he cared for their spiritual condition as well. In 1658 he published a prototype of modern "shorter Bibles" under the title "Manualník aneb Jádro celé biblí svaté" (A Manual, or the Kernel of the entire Holy Scriptures) (2), as well as a Church Hymnal (1659), and the Confession of Faith (1662), which was a reprint of the Confession of 1535 (3), besides other less important publications.

(1) Letter dated Nov.2,1661, in the Diary of Dr.Worthington, II, p.68

(2) A copy of this rare edition is in the writer's library.

(3) In the Library of the "Bohemian Reformation", vol. IV, Prague, 1918.

He remained zealous in his great life-work of ironic endeavors. In 1660, at the occasion of the restoration of the English Stuarts in the person of Charles II, Comenius published and dedicated to the king his "De Bono Unitatis", which in its English translation, made by certain Joshua Tymarchus, bore the title: "An Exhortation of the Churches of Bohemia to the Church of England". By means of this book Comenius wished to influence the decision of the form of government of the English church. In it he described the ecclesiastical polity of the "Unitas Fratrum", recommending it as the one best suited for the English people. He prayed the king that he "would be pleased to commend this endeavor in my name, to the busie sticklers of the said controversie among you, that they may peruse it, and see if anything may be gathered, even from thence, to the diswaging of the animosities and the enlarging of good affections". (1)

Moreover, his missionary and ironic zeal was evident from his active aid and interest in the translation of the Scriptures into Turkish, which was to have been made by a certain Dr. Levin Tarnor, and published by de Geer. In 1667 Comenius actually wrote the preface to this work, addressed to the Sultan Mohammed IV, but the translation was disapproved by expert scholars, and consequently was never published.

The last important book of Comenius was the "Unum necessarium". It was published in 1668, when the author

(1)

Preface of the English translation; a copy of the work is in the Newberry Library, Chicago, Ill.

was 77 years old, and pointed, as the title indicates, to the only thing needful in life or death. In this book, which may be likened to Augustine's Confessions, Comenius appeared primarily as a simple believer to whom union with Christ was his all in all. For the Church he had this last word of advice: "in all things essential unity, in those less needful (which are called additions), freedom; and in all things love to all". His own simple confession of faith he stated as follows: "If someone should ask me about my theology, I would seize (with dying Aquinas, for I myself am about to die) the Bible, and would say with all my heart and in a plain language: I believe all that is written in this book! If someone should inquire more closely about my confession of faith, I would show him the Apostolic, for I know nothing shorter, simpler, or pithier, nothing that could sooner bring me to a decision in all controversies, and to save me the endless labyrinths of disputation. If someone should ask what selected prayer-forms I use, I would point him to the Lord's prayer; for I am persuaded that no one can show a key that opens the Father's hear easier than the only-begotten Son who proceeded from the Father. If he should ask about my rules of life, I would show the Decalogue, for I am sure that no one can say better what is pleasing to God than God himself" (1). A confession of a thoroughly religious seventeenth century Christian! but one who had lifted him-

(1) A Bohemian translation of "Unum necessarium" was made by Dr. Jar. Ludvík Škřivánek, and published in Prague, 1920;

the passage cited is found in chap. X, 9.

self above the narrow confines of the dogmatic confessional orthodoxy.

Comenius' great regret was that his pansophic writings were still incomplete. He worked on them to the end of his life, and feeling that his days were soon to be numbered, he asked his son, Daniel, to bind himself with a most solemn promise to complete this labor after he himself should have passed away. In this work he associated with Daniel another man, Christopher Nigrin, who really worked upon the appointed task for nine years. Yet the writings were never published, and even the manuscripts have hitherto not been recovered.

Comenius, whose death could be expected any time, died suddenly on Nov. 15, 1670, at Naarden, near Amsterdam, and was buried in the local Walloon church. (1) Thus the earthly tabernacle of the exile, who throughout his life longed passionately for return to his native land, found a permanent resting place in the kindly soil of Holland.

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- (1) Among the commonest mistakes with which one meets is the date of the death of Comenius, generally given as Nov. 15, 1671. This mistake probably originated in the fact, that Daniel Comenius wrote a letter to Th. Spizel in the early part of 1671, in which he announced the death of his father. It was erroneously concluded that Comenius had died the same year in which the letter was written. But if an earlier letter of Daniel, written to John Almeloveen, had been consulted, this error would have been prevented. In this letter, it is expressly stated that Comenius died on Nov. 15, 1670. See *Evacala: Korrespondence Kom.*, II (1898) p.359 and 360. Moreover, in the Naarden church records this entree is found: "Johannes Amos Comenius enterre le 22. Nov. 1670. C'est apparemment le fameux Authour du Janua linguarum. Cf. Koubek-

Novak:ivot, 1892, p.251

Recently the village of Maarden was incorporated with the neighboring Bussum and other villages, and the resulting municipality bears the name Bussum.

CHAPTER III.

COMENIUS' IRENIC PROGRAM AND ACTIVITY.

Having briefly surveyed the life of Comenius and touched upon the various reform movement in which he became prominent, it is proper to scan more closely that phase of his activity which forms the proper subject of the present investigation. In studying his irenic program and activity, it will be necessary to go into particulars of such writings and undertakings as fall within the scope of this phase of Comenius' life, even though it be done at the risk of some unavoidable repetition.

In order to present this matter systematically, the materials may be divided into two main groups: first, Comenius' attitude to such "non-evangelical" communions as, for instance, the Roman Catholic Church, the Socinian body, and other minor sects; secondly, his attitude toward the "evangelical" bodies, by which designation he meant the Calvinistic and the Lutheran churches, as well as his own communion. (1)

In regard to the first group, he at first excluded it definitely from his scheme of union. Later in his "pansophic" plan, theoretically all Christendom, or in fact the whole humankind, was included in one ground program of reconciliation, provided all men were willing to submit to the educational process required therein. But he himself felt that

(1) Cf. for his definition "Omlášení", ch.X, in Veskeré Spisy, XVII, p.319.

there was little immediate hope of such an eventuality and as a matter of fact found it necessary to oppose these communions to a greater or less degree throughout his life. But since this was the negative side of his activity and did not add materially to his irenic scheme proper, it need not be treated at great length.

In regard to the second group of churches, the subject naturally divides itself into a consideration of Comenius' theoretical irenic program or platform for uniting Christendom; and, secondly, of his practical activity directed to carry out his program. As for the first part, his irenic program underwent, after he had worked out the idea of "Pansophy" (1637, if the date of the publication of the "Pansophiae Prodomus" be adopted), a radical change. Thus his scheme up to 1637, which will be found to differ but little from the irenic programs of such men as Cl^aixtus and Dury, will first be considered, and this will be followed by a discussion of the really original contribution which Comenius worked out in his "Pansophy". Lastly, after noting the practical endeavors of Comenius to realize his theoretical program, the study will close with an attempt to evaluate his contribution to human progress in the light of his age, as well as in its potentiality toward the solution of similar problems to-day.

I. COMENIUS' ATTITUDE TO THE "NON-EVANGELICAL" CHURCHES.

The outbreak of the 'Thirty Years' War marks the first definite expression of Comenius' attitude toward other Christian bodies, and, strange to say, this first work was of a polemical character, even though it was defensive in its intention. The book was written in response to the situation in the lands of the Bohemian crown after the outbreak of the conflict of 1618. Since Paul V. is mentioned as the reigning pontiff (1), the termination ad quem is given us by the date of his death (Jan. 28, 1621), which date also carries us beyond the Battle of White Mountain (Nov. 8, 1620). Comenius himself speaks of this work in his letter to P. Montanus (2) that "perceiving that the clouds of persecution are collecting (for lightning flashes first before it strikes), I wrote Praemonitiones adversus Antichristianas seductiones (Retuňk etc.), a work of considerable size", which, however was not published, although the manuscript was copied by many. This work was offered to the Seniors of the Church for approval, as the Order of "Unitas Fratrum" required, but its publication was postponed, and finally, on account of changed conditions, abandoned altogether.

Two manuscripts of this work are preserved, one of which is kept in the Court Library of Vienna, and the other at the Bohemian Museum of Prague.

It is strange that a great irenic leader like Comenius should have begun his career with a polemical work against the

(1) Retuňk, chp. XIV.

(2) Patera, Korrespondence Kom., p. 234.

Roman Church. Yet, the work was written with the purpose of preventing or lessening the great number of accessions to that body brought about by persecution, or offers of reward, or otherwise. The author pointed out (1) eight propositions which form the basis of his judgment of the Roman Catholic Church. These were as follows: 1.) the Scriptures are not the only basis of the doctrines and practices of that Church; 2.) the bases upon which the Roman Church is built are insufficient; 3.) the Roman communion appeals to the sensuous, instead of to the spiritual nature in man; 4.) it searches after worldly glory and honor; 5.) its priests live a worldly life; 6.) it accomodates iteself to the demands of temporal powers; 7.) it confounds worldly power with spiritual functions exercised by popes and prelates; 8.) finally, the pope is, in the judgment of many, the Antichrist.

This introductory charge was followed by a more detailed exposition of the separate items. The only canon of faith, said the author, is the Bible, not the Church. This assertion, which is nothing else but the familiar "formal principle of the Reformation", was butressed by many citations drawn from the writings of various Church Fathers. The Scriptures are infallible, being the very Word of God, while the Church and General Councils and popes may fall and have fallen into error. The appeal of the Roman Church to antiquity is of no avail, for a truly historical study of the primitive church reveals it to be contrary to the usages of the contemporary papal church.

(1) Retuňk, chp. III.

On the other hand, it is possible to prove that the ceremonials of the Roman Church originated to a large degree from non-Christian and heretical sources. Neither is the boast of the immutability of its faith justified, for the Church is no longer in accord with the primitive teachings and usages. In fact, the Roman Church is not even Catholic, nor is the papal claim to apostolic succession proven; on the contrary, the author advanced arguments to prove that Peter never visited Rome, much less was bishop there. Moreover, even if this were true, the apostolic succession would have been broken by the popess Johanna, as well as during the periods of schism when it was difficult to determine who the lawful pope was. Turning again to the subject of papal power, the author pronounced it impertinent for the pope to set himself up as the vicar of Christ, for he could neither prove his authority from the Scriptures, nor was he ever elected to such an office. In fact, Scriptural prophecies proclaimed him to be the Antichrist, whom to obey is highly dangerous. He gained his power by deceit and lies.

Then the author turned to warn all Christians against the guiles of this Antichrist, and expressed his regret over those who succumbed to his machinations; especially did he warn those evangelicals who were tempted to join the Roman Church either by offers of reward or by fear of persecution. Finally, he exhorted parents to greater zeal in educating their children, and the evangelical ministers and magistrates

to a greater zeal in the discharge of their duties. (1)

The same hostile attitude toward the Roman Church is plainly discernable in the later writings of Comenius. Speaking specifically, he reproached it with having apostasized from the purity of the apostolic teaching by submitting to the hoke of the Antichrist--the papacy. "Then came in the mystery of iniquity, priestly and episcopal pride, followed by great schisms within the Church, until finally the Antichrist gained vitory and brought all things under his tyrannous sway" (2). Thus it follows that the dogmatic teachings of the Roman Church were characterized by Comenius as "errors of Antichrist", while the Jesuit Order was termed "the horde of Antichrist". (3) The doctrine of the sacraments is erroneous, because it is in excess of the teaching of the Scriptures. "In excessu, above the proper fashion of regarding the sacraments, are the papists, for they ascribe to them greater power than God declared them to have; for they regard them ex opere operato , and make a god of the sacrament". (4) The ceremonials were rejected in the strongest terms, being spoken of as "Ornaments of the Babylonian harlot" portrayed in the Book of Revelation, and the author exhorted the reformed churches to purge the temple of

(1) Cf. Novák: Jan Amos Komenský, jeho život a spisy, p.51-53.

(2) Otázky o Jednotě, chp.I, in Veškeré Spisy, XVII, p.266.

(3) Haggaeus Redivivus, in Veškeré Spisy, XVII, p.208.

(4) Ohlášení, chp. X, in Veškeré Spisy, XVII, p.322.

God of this and suchlike filth.(1)

It may be mentioned in this connection that Comenius objected to the Zwinglian and Anabaptist interpretations of the Lord's Supper on similar grounds, considering them to be "in defectu" of what the Scriptures teach. They are said to have ascribed to the sacraments "less than is proper and than the Word of God requires, making of the sacrament of the most precious Supper of the Lord a mere symbol and memorial". He added that the Brethren had utterly repudiated any such interpretation. (3)

But the most extensive anti-Roman polemical writing of Comenius was composed during the controversy with the famous Capuchin monk, Valerian Magni. This monk, who had formerly been a member of the Reform Commission in Bohemia and thus was well known in that country, wrote a book in which he sought to reduce the Protestant "formal principle" of the supreme authority of the Scriptures ad absurdum. In the second part of his book, on the other hand, Magni sought to prove that the only feasible authority in matters of faith is to be sought in the pope and the general councils. Comenius was strangely affected and impressed by this able work of a veteran polemicist. In a letter which he sent to Valerian along with his answer to Valerian's book, Comenius showed himself an open-minded seeker after truth, not a blind, bigoted opponent. He sought light conscientiously, and was

(1) Haggaeus Redivivus, in Veškeré Spisy, XVII, p.206.

(2) Ohlášení, Ch. X, in Veškeré Spisy, XVII, p.322.

not averse to receive it even from the Roman Catholics, the sworn enemies of Protestantism. He wrote:

"When I first received your book wherein you deal with such great themes and carry the argument with such self-confidence.....I dared to read it no further, until I have thrown myself with your book before my God, in order to seek light (um Blindheit flehend). I then humbly besought God, if He had sent me new light of truth, to grant me the grace of perceiving it. Then I perceived that I am to write this work as an answer to yours, after I had dedicated all my mind and soul to God, that He might use my spirit and will as well as my pen as He wills." (1)

His answer to Valerian Magni is contained in two treatises, the first of which is entitled "Judicium De Judicio Valeriani Magni Mediolanensis, super Catholicorum et Acatholicorum Credendi Regula. Sive Absurditatum Echo." The preface to this work is dated June 1, 1644. The second treatise bore the title "Judicium Ulrici Neufeldii De Fidei Catholicae Regula Catholica, eiusque Catholico usu, ad Valerianum Magnum, omnesque Catholicos". The preface of this work bears the date of June 1, 1645.(2) Comenius pointed out in these treatises that the Roman Church

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- (1) From the German translation of Gindely. in his: "Über des J.A.Comenius' Leben, p.43.
 - (2) A copy of both treatises, bound together with the "De Dissidentium", and bearing the common title "Irenica quaedam scripta pro pace Ecclesia J. A. Comenii", is found in the library of the University of Göttingen. Through the kindness of Rev. Heilmann of Göttingen, the writer was fortunate to obtain a transcript of these works.

places the authority of the Church above the Scriptures and thus really subordinates the Scriptures to itself. (1) Moreover, he claimed that the evangelicals or Biblicists, as Valerian called them, find their supreme authority in the Bible itself, not in some interpretation of it, either by pope, or general council, or an individual. (2) His argument reminds one of Chillingworth's famous dictum that not a confessional interpretation, but the Bible alone, is the religion of the Protestants. (3)

In the end, Comenius claimed that he meant to enter into no polemics with the Catholics, but that his present treatises were intended to serve as an explanation of misunderstandings. As he expressly said in the preface of the second treatise:

"Ego membrum illius Ecclesiae sum, quae tertio iam seculo (a temporibus Hussi) Deo suo in spiritu et veritate servire contenta, de Veritatis praerogativa cum aliis contendere non quasivit; aliena litigia tacite spectans, utque Deus ipse Lucem suam tenebras, Veritatemque, errores tandem eluctari faceret suspirans. Polemicum ergo aliquid in publicum scribere mihi nunquam venerat in mentem.....Non polemicum esse hoc scriptum, acerbum et odiosum, sed placidum et amicabile." (4)

So that by classing these two treatises among polemics, it is

- (1) "Summa consilii tui est: Non fidendum esse privatae scripturarum interpretationi aut unius vel illius doctoris ab ecclesia separatim: sed publicae, quae est ecclesiae in concilio congregatae, quae a spiritu S. infallibititer docta omnia fidei dogmata determinat. Talem vero ecclesiam, cui soli fidi potest, esse Catholicam Romanam." In "Absurditatum Echo", Cap. XIII.
- (2) See von Criegern, Comenius als Theolog, p.62.
- (3) Chillingworth, The Religion of Protestants a Safe Way to Salvation. The fifth edition was published at London in 1684.
- (4) From Kvačala: Zur Lebensgeschichte des Comenius, in M.C.B., II, p.138. Ulric Neufeld is a pseudonym adopted by Comenius for this occasion.

done in spite of the express disclaimer of Comenius.

That Comenius' attitude toward the Roman Church could be described as almost hostile, should cause no surprise, if it be remembered that he lived during the terrible conflict of the Thirty Years' War, during which that monkish-spirited weakling, Emperor Ferdinand II, wreaked most horrible suffering upon the unhappy Bohemians and Moravians in an effort to "save their souls". What wonder, then, if the poor exile, whose fondest hopes of return were most bitterly disappointed and the interest of his nation betrayed by those whom he trusted as friends, should give vent to his anguish in words of burning passion? Such is the language of Comenius in the "Last Will of the dying mother, Unity," which was written after the Peace of Westphalia had sealed the fate of the luckless exiles of Bohemia. There he cries out:

"Neither can I forget you.....who as a mother hast borne us, thou Church of Rome! Thou hast been our mother, but hast become a step-mother, yea, even a wild she-boar which licks the blood of her young ones. I wish that thou mayest come to thyself and repent, and that thou mayest leave the Babylon of thy abominations. To which end I bequeath thee--if perchance it might aid thee--my own example of honoring God, who had remembered us in the days of our former backwardness by leaving the darkness of thy idolatry and by following the light of His Word. And if thou refusest this, I bequeath thee nothing but the worm of evil conscience. Moreover, I bring against thee the witness of the blood of

my sons and of other martyrs of Jesus Christ whom thou hast slain between the temple and the altar. Thou makest thyself the spiritual Jerusalem, and indeed thou art Jerusalem; not the spiritual one, however, but as it was in the days of prophets and of Christ and his apostles. I bequeath to thee as thy hereditary possession the words spoken to that Jerusalem by the Lord: "O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, that killeth the prophets and stoneth them that are sent unto her! how often would I have gathered thy children together, even as a hen gathereth her chickens under her wings, but ye would not! Behold, your house is left unto you desolate! There is your sentence, thou Jerusalem of the New Testament; await thy execution! To thy sons as their inheritance I bequeath the God-given right to defend the glory of their eternal Father to whom they were borne by thee, and to contend with thee and show thee that thou art not His wife unless thou "put away thy adulteries from thy face." And if thou even then shouldst not return and shouldst not make thy sons rejoice over thy return to their Father, I bequeath a zeal for God to the kings of the earth, who have not yet borne thee upon their backs, that they in abhorrence of thee burn thee with fire as a filthy harlot". (1) That is possibly the clearest summing up of Comenius' attitude to the Roman Catholic Church.

That Comenius was actually ready to "bequeath a zeal for God to the kings of the earth" is apparent from the short

(1) Křať umírající matky Jednoty Bratrské, Praha-Vinohrady, 1894, p.19ff.

treatise addressed to Sigismund Rakoczy, prince of Transylvania. (1) Much of the warlike sentiment expressed therein was doubtless inspired by the anti-Austrian and anti-papal bellicose prophecies of Drabík. Yet, for the time, Comenius identified himself with the program of Drabík, and with him must share in responsibility for the sentiments there expressed. Therein Comenius again identified the Roman Church with the beast of the Apocalypse and with "Babylon the Great", wherein "all things are confused together, divine wisdom with human, the religion of Christ with paganism, and spiritual power with secular." Christ began the work of liberation of his scattered peoples from the power of this beast, but complete liberation will not be accomplished until in the days of total destruction of the beast. In this work, according to prophecy, the kings of the earth are to co-operate. Among these, the prince of Transylvania is to hold a chief place. The means whereby the darkness and confusion could be dispersed from schools and the Church were pansophic education and "Collegium Lucis"; but the only way to overcome the political power of "the Beast" was by force. "Politicis autem tenebras, tyrannidem et oppressiones, pellendi medium est Gladius virtute Dei armatus." Thus Comenius was actually ready to advise and advocate armed conflict with the political power of the Church of Rome, and adhered to that position throughout his life.

(1) Sermo Secretus Nathanis ad Davidem. In Kvačala: Korrespondence Kom., 1902, p.249 ff.

The second life-long theological polemic of Comenius was with the Socinians. To these he was introduced early in life, and their views must have seriously disquieted him. He recounted his experiences with them in a letter to Baron Wolzogen, (1) written from Amsterdam in 1659, according to which he had first met with the Socinians during his early school-days at Přerov. Some foreigners, passing through the city, stopped at the school and were entertained by the teacher of the school, Dubín. Upon departure they left him a copy of the recently published Catechism of Moscorovus, and it was then discovered that they were Socinians. The book was burned, but not till Comenius had read it. The doubts raised thereby in the mind of the young student required several years of serious struggle for settlement, but the future conduct of Comenius gave proof that he had fully convinced himself of the erroneousness of the Socinian tenets.

Then in 1637 a Socinian leader, Melchior Scheffer, published a treatise in which he sought to prove that Jesus was raised from the dead by the power of his Father, and not his own. Comenius, who was elected to the office of the scribe of the Church, had among other duties also the task of answering any writing either directed against the "Unitas Fratrum" or any other he was ordered to answer (2). He was asked to pub-

(1) See An Open Letter to Baron Wolzogen, in Kvačala: Korrespondence Kom., 1898, Vol. II, p.251 ff.

(2) For the duties of Comenius as scribe of the Unity, as well as the register of his election see Gindely: Dekrety Jednoty Bratrské, p.277 ff.

lish a refutation of the treatise of Scheffel, and consequently wrote a German treatise: "Frage, ob Christus sich selbst auferweckt habe" (1638). In this work he advanced his arguments on the basis of the Greek text of the New Testament that the Socinian exegesis was not supported by the original Greek version of the narratives in question.

Later he entered into controversy with a certain Doctor Jonas Schlichting, a man of great importance among the Socinians. He was one of the leading writers on Socinianism, and was author of a Confession of Faith, which was quite generally accepted as authoritative among his Polish co-religionists. (1) This Confession was condemned as heretical at the Diet of Warsaw in 1646, and was publicly burned by the executioner. Its author was banished from Poland, and found refuge in the Netherlands. There he published, in 1654, an apology of Socinianism, which Comenius felt called upon to answer in his treatise: "De Christianorum vero Deo, Patre, Filio, et Spiritu sancto fides antiqua" (1659.)

In the same year Comenius wrote an open letter to Baron Wolzogen, in which he plainly indicated his utter rejection of the tenets of Socinianism. He clearly stated that he did not consider the Socinians as being within the group of evangelical Christian churches. He labored to prove that they had a different God, or rather had two gods, one increate, the other created being; they had a different Christ, for they

(1) This bore the title: *Confessio fidei Christianae illarum ecclesiarum, quae in Polonia unum Deum et filium ejus unigenitum Jesum Christum et spiritum s. corde sancto profitentur*, 1642.

held him to be a natural son of Mary, but a "titular" son of God, who, moreover, did not exist from all eternity, but only since his birth from Mary. They also had a "new gospel," which was "neither foolishness to the Greeks nor an offense to the Jews". Moreover, they had a different faith, baptism and hope. Therefore, the Socinians have left the true apostolic faith, and Comenius disclaimed any friendly connection with them. "Periculosum est a Vobis amari, periculosum salutari, periculosum minusculis affici. Plus hic est quam--timeo Danaos, et dona ferentes". (2)

But the most persistent and bitter anti-Socinian controversy in which Comenius indulged was with Daniel Zwicker, a most interesting anti-Trinitarian of that century. He was a native of Danzig (1612) but was expelled from his native city on account of holding views considered unorthodox. He wandered into Poland, and later lived a long time in Moravia, where he had much intercourse with the Brethren. Thence he went to Amsterdam, where he died in 1678. His most important work was "Irenicum Irēnicorum, seu Reconciliatoris Christianorum Norma Triplex, ad hodiernorum nonnullorum, Veritatis et Pacis Universalis amantium Virorum votum et sententiam." (1658) This is a most interesting treatise, for in advance of the opinions of its day. Zwicker professed to belong to no existing sect, but found something good in every one of them; he suggested that the good element of all religious

(1) Kvačala: Korrespondence Kom., 1898, vol.II, p.262.

communions be combined into one general all-comprehensive church. The book was dedicated to the pope and prelates of the Greek and Roman and Reformed churches, to whom he appealed for the execution of his irenic scheme. As for himself, he claimed to be "neither a Lutheran, nor a Calvinist, nor a Remonstrant, nor a Greek Orthodox, nor a Roman Catholic, nor a Socinian, nor a Mennonite, nor of any other of the present day sects. But although I am not connected directly with any of them, instead of despising them, I desire to reform them all in accordance with the divine Truth which alone I profess to follow." As for the partial good of each individual religious communion, Zwicker ascribed "to the Bohemian Brethren and the Lutherans the beginning of Reformation and of Christian liberty; to the Calvinists the first use of reason in theology; to the Remonstrants an advance in liberty of conscience; to the Greek Church, the preservation of the ancient truth, as well as the Bible itself, together with the Fathers; to the Roman Church, the necessity of good works, together with the preservation of some Latin Fathers; to the Socinians, felicitous use of judgment; and finally, to the Mennonites a more faithful manner of the life of Christ, not explicit, but shadowed forth. Indeed,.....I confess that all the present-day sects of Christians without any discrimination whatever are churches of Christ." (1)

Zwicker made an allusion in his book to Comenius, stating

(1) Zwicker's *Irenicum*, etc., p.79; quoted from a note of James Crossley in *The Diary of Dr. John Worthington*, vol. I, p.291-92.

that the latter was in accord with the sentiments expressed therein. This was correct insofar as the consummation of an organic union of Christendom was concerned; but it was the contrary of the truth insofar as the method or means for the accomplishment of that objective were concerned. Whether Zwicker disclaimed any connection with the Socinians or not, he certainly was an anti-Trinitarian, and so close to the Socinian positions that Comenius treated him consistently as a Socinian. His book against Zwicker was entitled: "*De Irenico Irenicorum, hoc est Conditionibus pacis a Socini Secta reliquo Christiano orbi oblatis ad omnes Christianos facta admonitio*" (1660). This treatise was not directed against Zwicker expressly, for it did not name him, but was intended to be a refutation of the arguments presented in Zwicker's book. To this the latter replied the following year with his "*Irenico Mastix Perpetuo Convictus et Constrictus*", in which he boasted of his victory over Comenius (reiterated more than sixty times), who is said to have not a word to answer. But evidently Comenius had a few words to say about it. He published in the same year "*J. A. Comenii de iterato Sociniani Irenico iterata ad Christianos Admonitio*". In this treatise he answered Zwicker's book sentence by sentence, and his tone was unusually sharp. In the preface to this work, dedicating it to the Senate of Amsterdam, Comenius expressed his regret that the present controversy occupied so much of his precious time which should have been spent on a much worthier subject--the Pansophy. Moreover, he published

the same year a refutation of the Socinian Catechism in his "Socinismi Speculum", in which he expressed himself decidedly against the tenets of the Racovian catechism. Zwicker, on his part, was not to be outdone. He brought forth his "Irenico Mastigis pars specialis, seu Confutatio finalis Comenii et aliorum" (1660). To this Comenius replied in the closing treatise, "J.A.C. Admonitio tertia: I. Ad Dan. Zw., ut impios suos adversus Christum et christianam fidem triumphos temperet. II. Ad Christianos, ut tandem evigilent". In this final blast Comenius accused Socinianism of having prevented the victory of evangelical Protestantism in Poland. Moreover, he ventured to say that recognition of Socinianism on equal terms with evangelicals would leave but husks of Christianity, and would make them all idolaters (1).

Another controversy, which however need not be treated extensively, concerned just the opposite assertion, namely the denial of the true corporeal body of Jesus, or a species of Docetism. Such a doctrine was taught by a certain Felgenhauer, who won for his views a Bohemian physician, Dr. Stolz. The latter sent Felgenhauer's book, "Wahrheit und Weisheit", as well as some other writings, to Comenius for an opinion. Comenius answered that it was partly wise and partly otherwise. Yet, after Stolz was driven out from Danzig for his "heterodoxy", somehow Comenius himself was likewise accused of having approved the same opinion. In

(1) "De Irenico Irenicorum", "De Iterato Sociniano Irenico iterata ad Christianos Admonitio", and finally "Socinismi Speculum" are all bound into one volume, in possession of the University of Illinois Library, at Urbana, Ill.

order to clear himself of this charge, he wrote at the behest of his superiors to Stolz an extended exposition of the errors of Folgenhauer. (1)

With these various opinions which were not of the "evangelical" type, Comenius would have nothing to do. Thus a man like Zwicker actually held a more tolerant position than Comenius, although, on the other hand, it must be added that the latter's plans were certainly more practical and feasible. Yet both rested fundamentally upon the condition of acceptance of a common body of doctrine, and differed merely in the scope which was to be included in the "Corpus Doctrinae". Theoretically, Comenius provided for the eventual inclusion of all sects of Christendom on the basis of an undemoninational, Biblical, religious instruction, which was intended to impart to all men the same religious views. But it seems quite certain that this "Biblical" doctrine would have borne in the main a thoroughly "evangelical" character, and would have excluded all such interpretations as were combated by Comenius in his above-mentioned polemics. But what in detail it would have been, we have no means of knowing, for his great pansophic writings were lost in the disastrous Lissa fire of 1656, and were never reproduced again.

(1) See the treatise in Kvačala: Korrespondence Kom., 1902, p.17ff; also p.36ff.

2. COMENIUS' ATTITUDE TOWARD THE "EVANGELICAL" BODIES

A. His program to the year 1637.

True to the irenic spirit of the Unity of Brethren, Comenius endeavored not only to retain friendly relations with the Lutherans and the Calvinists, but strove to bring about an organic union between them. This he sought to accomplish by conferences between the two bodies and his own, at which the fundamentals of doctrine and polity could be so adjusted as to make them acceptable to all evangelicals. When, however, in the early thirties he became fired with his great pansophic scheme, by which he hoped to bring about an approximate uniformity of opinion in scientific and cultural matters as well as unity in matters of religion, his irenic plan was subsumed under the larger goal. Moreover, since he dreamed of extending his pansophic educational method to all peoples, the scope of his irenic effort expanded to include not only all of Christendom, but, in fact, all mankind. A stupendous dream indeed! A consideration of the first stage of his irenic ideals will occupy the period ending with the year 1637.

Comenius very early perceived the disastrous effect of the division among Protestants and never ceased to deplore the fact and to point out the waste and losses occasioned thereby. In one of the earliest and best known of his writings, "The Labyrinth of the World and the Paradise of the Heart"(1), which was dedicated to Charles of Žerotín, after describing

(1) Veškeré Spisy, XV, p.246ff.

in a pithy, graphic way the various leading religions of the world, he then examined in a detailed fashion, the Christian religion. He described its various divisions and wherein they differed from each other, saying: "Some were to mark themselves with water and fire; others were to carry the sign of the cross in their pockets or hands, always ready for use; others taught that besides the original picture to which all are exhorted to conform(1), they should carry with them as many smaller ones as possible(2); others held that it was a pharisaical thing to kneel at prayers; others claimed that music, as a worldly thing, should not be tolerated among them; still others held that they were taught by an inner revelation, and had no need of any other teaching(3).

Then he went on to describe their futile efforts to unite: "There I saw how two or three of these chapels, which stood nearest one another, were attempting to join themselves into one. But they could find no means of accomplishing this object. Each one held obstinately to its own opinion, and tried to force the other to conform to it. Some of the more simple held to whatever came along; others, more clever, upheld or abandoned positions according to the advantage they could derive for themselves from such a course. This miserable confusion and mutation of these dear Christians filled me with a great indignation." (4)

(1) Christ

(2) The saints.

(3) The Labyrinth of the World, p.254.

(4) The Labyrinth of the World, p.255.

In his "Haggaeus Redivivus" Comenius again stressed the evil effects of disunion of Protestantism. He recalled with shame the former times when even Jews and Turks were ridiculing the disputes among the Protestants, while the "band of Antichrist", the Jesuits, hailed the disputes with the highest satisfaction, saying that "evangelicos furiosorum hominum instar in sua ipsorum viscera saevire eaque dilaniare." Moreover, following Augustine, the Jesuits argued that the evangelicals could have no faith, no Church, and no salvation, because they had no love.

Enumerating further the evil consequences of this senseless and self-destructive policy of the Protestants, Comenius pointed out that the Jews and the Mohammedans and "other peoples deceived by the Antichrist" were confirmed in their obstinate refusal of Christianity. For this Protestants should be held responsible, for by their quarrels they rendered Christianity an object of ridicule. Moreover, if it had not been for the wars which Protestants waged with each other, there were good reasons to believe that the "errors of Antichrist" would have continued to give way before the truth of the Gospel. "But this our mutual conflict brought a respite to the Antichrist, so that he could again collect and strengthen himself; thus, on the one hand, we helped to build the Babylon, and on the other, to destroy ourselves. For the saying of our Saviour is forever valid, that every kingdom divided against itself perishes, and house falls upon house. Likewise the warning of the Apostle: But if ye

bite and devour one another, take heed that ye be not consumed one of another. Many pious men feared such an end, but others refused to consider it, till we came to the fall and destruction. Thus it happens when evil is not opposed in time, it is then too late to say it" (1).

Similar complaints and portrayal of the evil of disunion are scattered throughout the works of Comenius; but this will suffice to present the matter.

Realizing as clearly as he did the evils of Protestant mutual hostility, both to themselves and to Christendom and the world at large, Comenius sought to remedy the situation by his irenic efforts. This became one of the chief objectives of his long life, and he cherished his plans throughout the vicissitudes of his long life. He was often compelled to engage in work only indirectly connected with this endeavor, but then he felt himself forced to submit to a course which was not of his own choosing. In his last treatise, entitled "Unum Necessarium" written when he was 77 years old, he confessed that the irenic study was his life-long occupation and burden, and that he had "a desire to put forth all manner of effort in order to pacify the various hurtful and even ruinous contentions regarding the faith" (2).

Thus he grasped every opportunity to stress the points of essential agreement in doctrine among the evangelicals, and to minimize or entirely obliterate all points of

(1) Haggaeus Redivivus, ch. XVII, p.208.

(2) Unum Necessarium, ch.X, part 4.

difference. "Haggaeus Redivivus" was written with the purpose of affording a tentative basis of union among the Protestants of Bohemia. It was written early in the year of 1632, when the emigrants were again in hopes of returning to their homes, basing their expectations upon a chance of victory of the invading Saxon armies. The treatise was written by Comenius as an official expression of the policies which the "Unitas Fratrum" intended to pursue upon return to Bohemia. There is an official approbation of it in the records of the Synod held on October 6, 1632, at Lissa, which reads as follows: "In regard to the publication of Haggaeus Redivivus: because of the request of the priestly brethren, and since there is hope that the publication might not be without good results, it was agreed to publish it when opportunity offers. In the meantime, let the treatise be carefully revised, so that nothing but what would serve edification might find place therein". (1) Thus the situation described in the book had reference mainly to the Bohemian Protestants, as is clear from chapter XIX, where Comenius recommended giving up of all party names as Husite, Lutheran, or Calvinist. But there is nothing to prevent the argument from being applied to the general European situation.

The author, in the first place, laid emphasis upon the essential unity of the existing evangelical Protestantism, non-recognition of which had caused the many conflicts among

(1) Gindely: Dekrety Jednoty Bratrské, p.274.

the parties. By the term "evangelical" he meant, as he had explained elsewhere(1), all those Protestant bodies which accepted the article of salvation of man by faith alone--the doctrine of solefideism. Specifically, he included in this definition, besides his own church, the Lutherans and the Calvinists. These were one in their common origin, for they had all separated from "the popedom as from a spiritual Sodom and Gomorrah". Besides, they were one in doctrine in all the essential articles, the differences among them in this respect being of no such nature as would imperil the bases of salvation, "mere misunderstandings", as Comenius called them. (2)

In another of his works, "The Way of Peace", Comenius went into greater details in this matter. To him the differences in doctrine among the evangelicals did not exceed several permissible interpretations of the truth, and in polity did not break the unity of the Church.(3). Then

(1) Ohlášení, in Veškeré Spisy, XVII, p.318.

(2) Haggaeus, chp. XVII, p.209.

(3) See "Cesta Pokoje", in Veškeré Spisy, vol.XVII, p.472: "For although when they (-representatives of the various evangelical bodies) enter into a controversy(especially when some hot-headed individual lays hold of his pen), they bring out against each other horrible charges; yet, when one looks into the matter dispassionately, studying how one or the other side explains its terms and meaning, no more can be found (as the Lord liveth!) but that either the meaning of both is identical, or that in some few articles there is a negligible difference; but not in the fundamentals, only in the matter of expressing them. And since God did not reveal to us in His word the manner of the thing, neither bade us to delve into it, it would be best to keep silent about it. Or, if it were seen fit to enter into such investigation, the results should be kept among the learned, instead of troubling the Church of God therewith." This latter suggestion recalls the position of Clement of Alexandria, who likewise proposed to keep the highest aspects of the Christian "philosophy" for the "Christian Gnostic".

Comenius cited some definite examples of this essential unity among the Protestants. First, he recalled the Marburg Colloquy (1529) between Luther and Zwingli, where these reformers found themselves in agreement on fourteen points out of fifteen, disagreeing only in regard to the Lord's Supper. Furthermore he mentioned the Colloquy of Leipzig of 1631, between the Saxon Lutheran and Brandenburg-Hesse Reformed theologians. They found differences of opinion only in some points relative to three articles: concerning the person of Christ (the Lutheran doctrine of ubiquity), regarding the Lord's Supper, and the doctrine of predestination. (1) From this it is apparent--the author concluded--that the evangelicals do not differ in the fundamentals of faith, but only in some explanations of a few doctrines. "Thus because where there is a difference among them it is but small, they can live in mutual forbearance, and in fact are duty-bound to do so, by reason of the obligation of brotherly love, and on account of possessing so much in common of the light of the Gospel." (2)

As for the means of accomplishing this union, Comenius at this stage of his career was in essential agreement with John Dury and George Calixtus. He advocated, in general, a return to the Bible as the source and norm of all doctrine and polity, leaving out all subtle and divisive disputation,

(1) Cesta Pokoje, p.472-475.

(2) Ibid., p.475.

as dealing with aspects of doctrines not authorized by the Scriptures. In regard to the interpretation of doctrine, he proposed to follow the Scriptures themselves, the early church, and the early councils, so that everything might be collected and followed "ex scriptura, scriptis patrum et conciliorum decretis".(1) This he based on the notion that the early church and the early councils were in full conformity with the Scriptures, for otherwise he would have been inconsistent in saying: "As for ourselves, let us learn not to dogmatize beyond what is written, but to stand in the holy commandment given us. Let the Holy Bible alone, I say, be our canon, our faith, our standard, our rule; let it be a candlestick to our feet, the light of our paths, or rather the sun of our clouds, the counsellor in our doubts, the judge and discernor of sense and meaning, the pure milk which nourishes the children of God, the cistern of the living waters! (2) Thus to him the only safe and satisfactory course to be pursued in theological and doctrinal interpretation of the Christian religion was to believe simply what the Scriptures teach, even though some things should remain obscure or altogether unexplained. The way of peace was a joyful acceptance of the "Theology of Christ and his apostles". (3)

As regards the rites, usages, and ceremonials of the

(1) Haggaeus Redivivus, chp. X.

(2) Haggaeus, chp. XIV.

(3) Cesta pokoje, p. 479

Church, Comenius considered these as indifferent--"adiaphora". By ceremonials he understood church ornaments, priestly vestments, order of the liturgical service, as well as observance of fasts and holidays. In general, he taught that Christians were free to use any rite or ceremony they chose, provided they were not "idolatrous or superstitious", and that they were conducted in a decent and orderly manner. No one need condemn another for differences of rites, "for neither circumcision nor uncircumcision avails anything, but observance of God's commandments". (1)

These, then, were the fundamentals of every true Christian church. But they comprised merely the general principles, and did not quite solve the particular questions which were under discussion. Nevertheless, these particular problems were just the items upon which the evangelical churches had separated, and upon which hitherto no compromise was possible. To these points, then, Comenius addressed himself in an endeavor to transcend the differences and to point out the way of union. It must be borne in mind that to him these differences were merely verbal and did not concern the vital essence of the questions. Thus he may have underestimated their importance to the disputants.

In the first place, he undertook to clear away the various "misunderstandings" in regard to the Lord's Supper. He affirmed that the bread and wine in the sacraments were the body and blood of Jesus Christ, and were necessary to

(1) Haggaeus, chp. XXI.

spiritual life. But he refused to pronounce any judgment upon the controverted point as to whether the mysterious change occurred only in response to faith and in a spiritual fashion, or whether it occurred in every instance and by way of consubstantiation. "Whether this sacrament is received by the mouth or by faith alone, why do ye contend about it? Why do yet wish to pronounce upon matters about which the Scriptures are silent?" Then follow words of wise counsel and of a truly liberal spirit of tolerance and brotherly love; "If one in the simplicity of his heart believes more in this matter, and another in the same simplicity believes less, turn ye this to the good of each other, and bear with one another, remembering that we all know only in part. And especially let us remember that this mystery was ordained not that the hearts of believers may be torn asunder thereby, but rather be bound into one." (1)

The second point in dispute was that of the doctrine of predestination, and the precise controversy centered about the point as to whether predestination proceeded from the mere pleasure of God, or from the foreseen merits of the predestinated; moreover, it was also disputed whether or not the predestinated to eternal life could ever fall away from grace. The answer of Comenius to this most difficult problem seems unusually lame, and yet he remained true to his guiding principle: namely, adherence to the teaching of the Scriptures. He pointed out that the Scriptures furnish

(1) Haggaeus, chp. XX.

ground for both sides of the controverted question, and thus in some unexplained manner, both sides were right in their proper place and times. (1)

Finally, in case some other question should come up for discussion, and no unanimity in regard to it could be reached, Comenius exhorted men to remember that God permits various interpretations of the Scriptures so long as they do not subvert the foundation, which is Christ.

Another specific measure which Comenius suggested for bringing about union of the Protestants was that of obliterating all party names, and thereby removing the outward sign of disunion. He pointed out that men were followers of those whose name they bear; and that this following of a human leader was one of the main reasons for separate establishments. If men were followers of Christ only, they would be united by the spirit of their common Master. Then they would truly bear the common name of Christians. Designating themselves by the name of a Hus, or a Luther, or a Calvin, they were perpetuating their sectarian differences; by dropping these appellations, they would show even outwardly that they belonged to one sheepfold and one Shepherd. (2)

Furthermore, Comenius stressed a life of inner piety as more important and more truly Christian than that of a

(1) Ibid., chp.XX.

(2) Haggaeus, chp. XIX.

mere conformity to the confessional symbols. Here in passing it is well to observe the strongly Pietistic emphasis of Comenius. This is another feature so often overlooked, that Comenius was one of the most prominent and influential of the forerunners of the Pietistic movement. He repeatedly exhorted men to a life in accordance with the gospel, for "what avails it to dispute about the gospel and live contrary to it? With one hand one builds, and with the other destroys."

(1) Moreover, he strongly opposed any heated theological discussion or use of approbrious names in the spirit of sectarian hatred, exhorting men to mutual forbearance. It is better to pray for those whom we consider to be in the wrong than to condemn them harshly. It were better to pray that God might open their eyes to the truth rather than force them to conformity. Thus Christianity should find its seat in the heart and not merely in the intellect.(2) One certainly is most forcibly reminded of the program of Pietism as formulated by Spener, which stresses just the elements mentioned above.

From the foregoing study it is evident that Comenius sincerely longed for an organic union among the evangelical bodies, and that he regarded the various differences in doctrine and polity as non-essential. Yet in spite of that he was keenly sensitive to the rights of all parties involved, and insisted that these rights should be scrupulously

(1) Cesta Pokoje, p.479

(2) Cesta Pokoje, p.480/

respected. He knew that all irenic movements involve the peculiar danger of unfair treatment of the smaller parties. This feature, so common to union efforts of all times, generally constitutes the most potent reason for the failure of such movements. Comenius knew very well that an irenic leader must be constantly on guard against such en^croachment^Λs, and his vigorous action in a similar circumstance affords abundant material for the study of this feature of his program.

The occasion referred to is a controversy which broke out between the pastor of the Bohemian exile congregation at Pirn in Saxony, M. Samuel Martinus of Dražov, and the leaders of the Bohemian branch of the Unity at Lissa. The Pirn congregation was a very large one, reaching in January, 1628, the total of 2123 persons. (1) When in 1631 the Saxon armies under von Arnim (Arnheim) invaded Bohemia, many of the Pirn exiles returned in the wake of these armies, and settled again in their old homesteads. Martinus, who was among the returned, became pastor of the principal Prague church (Týn), and also one of the administrators of the Protestant Consistory. But after Waldstein's rehabilitation in the supreme command of the Imperial armies, and his expulsion of the Saxons from Bohemia, the exiles were again forced to leave the country. Martinus found his way back to Pirn, where he was appointed by the Saxon Consistory to

(1) See the Introduction of Dr. Jos. Müller, p.VIIII, to his edition of the "Třicet pět Důvodů", Prague, 1898.

superintend all Bohemian exiles in Saxony. The elector of Saxony and his Consistory, in permitting the exiles to settle in the land, carefully specified that this privilege was granted only to good Lutherans, for Calvinism was given no quarter in Saxony. To prove that they were entitled to this privilege, the exiles were under the necessity of professing themselves fully in agreement with the "Augustana", which, on the basis of the "Confessio Bohemica" of 1575 they could conscientiously do, especially those who belonged to the neo-Utraquist wing of the Bohemian Protestant Church. With the adherents of the "Unitas Fratrum", however, the case was somewhat different. They had accepted the "Confessio Bohemica" as their own, in order to become partakers of the privileges granted by the "Majestätbrief" of 1609, but they preserved their own organization, customs, and discipline(1), and their seniors were given place on the Union Consistory along with the Neo-Utraquists. Thus those among the Saxon exiles who were adherents of the Unity, began to hold separate services and to celebrate communion according to the rite of their own church. Under these circumstances, Martinus felt that he must act, and he easily secured expulsion of those undesirable exiles.

As a result of these occurrences Martinus also undertook a controversy with the "Unity" by publishing, in June 1635, his "Thirty-Five Reasons...why all evangelical

(1) See Ratio Disciplinae Ordinisque, in Veškeré Spisy, XVII.

Bohemians should be united." (1) The answer of the seniors at Lissa was entrusted to Comenius, for such tasks belonged to his office. His book was published under the title "Response" (2). This was not left without an answer by Martinus, who replied in his "Defense" (1636), which called out on the part of Lissa seniors a detailed consideration of all Martinus' objections, in a book written by a young priest of the Unity, John Felinus. It bore the title: "Analysis of the Defense of Samuel Martinus", and was published in 1637. (3) Moreover, Comenius was bidden to write the final word on the subject in his "Way of Peace", (4) wherein the irenic principles of the Unity were clearly and explicitly stated. To these works Martinus replied in his "Induciae Martinianae", which, however, remained unanswered, because death removed the doughty Martinus from the scene of the conflict.

It will be profitable to look closely into the reasons which actuated Comenius in his opposition to Martinus; for they will reveal not only the author's own view of the matter, but the official attitude of the "Unitas Fratrum" as well.

In the first place, Comenius defined the status of his Church as not a sect, but a constituent part of the one universal (---Catholic) Church. The reason for separation

- (1) See the edition of Dr. Jos. Th. Müller, in Spisy J.A. Komenského, čís.3, Praha, 1898.
- (2) In the same edition as the preceding; also in Veškeré Spisy, XVII.
- (3) In Spisy J.A. Komenského, čís.6. Edited by Dr. Jos. Th. Müller, Praha, 1902.
- (4) Ibid., p.185ff.

from the Roman Church, as well as from the Utraquist body, was the determination of the seceding party to renew the original purity of the teaching and life of the Church. The Brethren recognized the "Confessio Bohemica" of 1575 as their own, and united with the Neo-Utraquists in a common Consistory, and to these acts they continued to profess their adherence; that, however, did not deprive them of their own organization and discipline, as Martinus would have it. "Thus, in short, we confederated, priest Martinus, but did not amalgamate".(1) As for the "Confessio Bohemica", that was not to be confused with the "Augustana" as if the two were identical, even though they were, as a matter of fact, in essential agreement with each other. Furthermore, the author defended the validity of the ordination of the priesthood of his Church. Their definition of the Lord's Supper was not received from Luther, nor from Calvin, as they were accused of having done, but was derived from Hus. One of the chief reasons why the "Unitas Fratrum" did not think of amalgamating with the Lutherans was the lack of discipline within that body, while the Brethren considered their Order and Discipline their chief boast and "jewel". Finally, after appealing to the members of the "Unity" for continued fidelity, and assuring the Neo-Utraquists that the "Unity" will continue its adherence to the common confession of faith, the author concluded as follows:

"We hope that you plainly see our innocence in this

(1) Ohlášení, part XIX.

threefold accusation, namely, that we commit schism, leave the teachings of the Gospel and the Bohemian Confession and act falsely under common name. Moreover, we can say with a pure conscience before God and His Church that in regard to the first item, if any one grieves sincerely over the divisions among the evangelical churches, we truly do. We also sincerely desire the elimination of differences (which cause those misunderstandings); may God grant opportunity, ~~mean~~, and means, that it may be accomplished safely, piously, and peacefully, to the glory of our Loved Saviour (who prayed fervently: Father, may they be one as even we are one). And may this work then be established permanently. May the goal of the common united body be that which the spirit of Christ ordained that "we may walk worthily, as be-
hooves our calling, with all lowliness, meekness, with long-suffering, forbearing one another in love, giving diligence to keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace, so that we may all be one body, one spirit, having one Lord, one faith and one baptism, and one God and Father of all who is over all, through all, and in all."

It is evident that Comenius, on the basis of these irenic efforts, is entitled to share with such men as George Calixtus, John Dury, John Valentine Andreac, and others, the distinction of having been a co-laborer with them in the noble irenic dream which they strove to realize. But this refers only to the earlier part of his activity. During the latter part, Comenius became an independent

originator of an ironic plan which is by no means an unimportant contribution to the programs of reconciliation worked out from that day to our own. As such, he takes his place as fully equal with the greatest of the ironic leaders.

B. Comenius' program for world unity. From 1637 to his death.

The plan of Comenius for securing world unity in culture as well as in matters of faith, the so-called "Pansophy", occupied his life from the early thirties to his end. This pansophic program is unique in its application, even though, as we have seen in an earlier study, he derived some elements of his scheme from Baconian and Andrean sources. The first impulse, however, came to him not as a conscious effort to carry out the ideas of Bacon or Andreae, but as a result of his own pedagogic literary labors. The idea of his Pansophy grew out of the fact of the favorable reception of his "Janua linguarum", and his consequent determination to continue this work in an expanded and enlarged scope.

The "Janua linguarum" was received with such signal favor and soon gained such an enormous popularity that its author was led to consider seriously a similar work which would in a way be a continuation of it. He was keenly alive to the fault--in his estimation the gravest fault of the contemporary educational system--that pupils were taught mere words, without gaining a thorough understand of the things for which the words stood. Thus he was slowly maturing a plan of writing a book in which the pupils would be given

an elementary knowledge of all necessary things, arranged in proper order from the simplest to the most involved. With this end in view Comenius began the composition of his "Janua rerum" or "Verioris sapientiae Portum". He confided his plans to some friends of his, and in a previous study it has been shown how the rumors of it reached Samuel Hartlib in London, who immediately interested himself and his friends in the project. Thus it came to pass that the sketch of his plans which Comenius sent to Hartlib upon the latter's request was finally published by Hartlib, without the knowledge of its author.

In this treatise, which received the name "Pansophiae Prodromus", Comenius began by recounting the various grave faults of the dialectic training with which education of his times abounded. What was chiefly needed for a solid education, he claimed, was a thorough knowledge of things--we would say scientific training--instead of acquiring merely a skill in eloquent speech-making and a good literary style. Yet for a thorough, even though elementary, scientific study, text-books were needed, and these must all be written from one single point of view, and based upon uniform principles throughout. He complained that the books written in various departments of knowledge lacked harmony, because they were written by "specialists" i.e., men who knew nothing outside of their own departments. Thus the books were based on principles mutually contradictory. "Metaphysicians sing to themselves only, natural philosophers chant their own praises, astronomer engage in their dances

by themselves, ethical thinkers make laws for themselves, politicians lay their own foundations, mathematicians rejoice over their own triumphs, and theologians reign for their own benefit. Yea, men introduce even into the same department and sciences different principles whereby they build and shelter what pleases and suits them, without troubling themselves much about what another might derive from their premises". (1) There was no binding principle, nor, in fact understanding or appreciation of another man's department of knowledge, and the result was a lack of coherence among the various sciences and disciplines.

In order to remove this confusion, and to present the sciences as an organized and organic whole, Comenius proposed to work out a complete encyclopaedic system of all human knowledge, based throughout on the self-same principles, and thus possessing inner symmetry and harmony. This was to be Christian Pansophy, built upon these three principles:

1. The inductive method of Bacon. "Therefore it will be necessary that all things be taught and learned not from external witness and tradition, but from the things themselves. Then can authorities aid the knowledge derived from things by lending them a certain lustre, by illuminating what the things teach. But even then such deductive teach-

(1) From the German translation of Prodomus, made by J. Loutbecher, in *Ausgewählte Schriften*, Leipzig, 1874, p. 85-86. The Latin reprint of Prodomus is found in *Veškerc Spisy*, vol. I.

ing is likely to distract the student, to say the least, and to draw him from things themselves to the person: while without it things would impress themselves upon the senses just as they were". (1)

2. The use of reason. Where senses are inadequate, or fail, there reason, with its norms, must come to the rescue.

3. The final criterion was the divine revelation. Where even reason is inadequate, there the divine revelation, the Bible, must be resorted to as the ultimate source of knowledge and the highest criterion of all science. These three principles form the foundation of the proposed Christian Pansophy.

These principles recur throughout the works of Comenius. In a treatise "Pansophiae Dilucidatio" (2) written in defense of his project because of adverse criticism advanced chiefly by a "political" official of the Unity, who feared that the proposed Pansophy would confound things divine with things mundane, Comenius again stated: "My purpose is to make a brief outline of the books of God: the nature, the Holy Writ, and the human consciousness. I wish to describe in an orderly and coherent fashion all things that exist; to use what divine revelation is known toward clarifying things; and to make use of all concepts of the human spirit." (3) The ultimate goal of the pansophy was the knowledge of God. The author likened it to the ladder which

(1) Prodomus, Leutbecher's translation, p.88.

(2) In Veškere Spisy, I, p.389ff.

(3) Pansophiae Dilucidation, par.6.

Jacob saw at Luz, reaching from visible to invisible things, leading from earth to God. (1)

On the basis of this exalted program, Comenius pointed out in general terms his new irenic plan, founding it upon the basic conviction that all men were capable for education, e.g., of being led into the truth. Since all truth is one, Comenius argued that his pansophy would unite them both in their view of the world as well as in their religious conceptions. "Philosophy must not be cultivated apart from theology, nor theology apart from philosophy, but both together; they must become Pansophy." (2) Thus harmony would result, where formerly there was dissonance. If it were a matter of common occurrence that philosophers engaged in controversy with theologians, it was because both based their partial truths upon their respective partial sources of truth. That condition of affair would disappear "as soon as the Light of the general Harmony should appear". For truth is one in all departments of knowledge.

Not only all strife between science and theology would be avoided by this plan of applying the same principles of research and interpretation to both of them, but the various confessional interpretations of Christianity would likewise be swept away. That, in fact, was the author's object. He wished to work out, on the basis of the above-mentioned three principles, a general system of Biblical

(1) Prodrromus, p.90

(2) Pansophiae Dilucidatio, par. 14.

Christianity, from which all merely sectarian features would be excluded. "Thereby we would not present this or that sectarian dogmatic teaching, but the general truth. That which in sectarian teaching runs into a dangerous double path (quae periculosum bivium habent) or has no exit into the open, would be excluded. It is better not to know a thing at all than to have false notions about it." (1)

Moreover, as far as the attainment of union of Christendom by these means was concerned, Comenius not only considered it possible, but suggested even a further goal; namely, conversion of the whole non-Christian world. One would be tempted to consider this feature of his plan as mere rhetoric, were it not to appear persistently in many others of his later writings in connection with the pansophic plan. Thus he says: "Then will nations come running to the Light radiating from Zion, and walk in the illumination thereof; and all the ends of the earth will turn to Jehovah, the multitude of nations coming like a dark cloud, or like doves flying to their dove-cotes. Nations will bring their sons upon their arms, and their daughters upon their shoulders, and the remaining enemies of Jerusalem will come to prostrate themselves before the King, the Lord of Hosts." (2)

Samuel Hartlib was not only instrumental in making the European world acquainted with the plans of Comenius, but spared no effort to carry the plans out into concrete reforms. It was as a result of his untiring labors that

(1) Prodromus, par.103, page 114.

(2) Cesta Světla, XXI, par.8.

Comenius was called to England by the invitation of the Long Parliament. He arrived there on the 9th of September, 1641.

Comenius' activity in London will be treated in a more detailed fashion later. Suffice it to say here, that while waiting for the necessary legislation which would put him in possession of the means whereby he could carry out his project, Comenius busied himself with elaborating his program, and with writing a more detailed exposition of it. This work bears the name "Via Lucis". (1) In this treatise Comenius discussed the need of light upon the manifold problems of the day. The solution he suggested consisted of four items: common text-books, common schools, a common research college of learned men, and a common language. The common text-books would comprise a brief, clear outline of all that men need to know in order to live intelligently. He suggested that this great undertaking is divided into three distinct classes of writings: I. Pansophia, which was to present the fundamental unifying principle of all things. "This book will be nothing else than a properly arranged transcript of the books of God: of nature, of the Holy Scriptures, and of the ideas innate to man, so that whoever reads and comprehends it, may also read and comprehend himself, the nature of things, and God. It will, therefore, be

(1) "Via Lucis" was not published till in 1668, but was known in manuscript transcripts. On April 18, 1642 Comenius sent "capitulum seriem" of the work to Hutton, and in 1643 the whole manuscript to Chancellor Oxenstiern of Sweden. A copy of "Via Lucis", Amsterdam, 1668, is in possession of the University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill. Cf. the Bohemian translation of Josef Smaha: *Cesta Světla*, Praha. 1920.

a very general book which will place before one's eyes all things which are necessary for a man to know, to believe, to do, and to expect, both for this life and the life to come."

(1) 2. Panhistoria, which was not merely a book of general history of the world, but has a careful study of all things pertaining to the past and present causes operating in the world of men as well as of nature, and producing the results as they were at the time. 3. Pandognatia, which was a systematic survey and arrangement of the opinions of authorities concerning the things with which panhistoria dealt.

In order to ensure that men be trained in the common subject-matter contained in these universal text-books, it was necessary that public schools be opened everywhere. Comenius suggested that even the poor and the orphans should be given the opportunities of education, and that the richer citizens should take it upon themselves to support as many indigent boys and girls in school as their means permitted. Then he expressed an earnest hope that those who should still remain uncared for, be provided with the necessary means from public treasuries, either ecclesiastical or civil. (2)

The third great requirement which Comenius made was that of an international college of learned men, who would be continually engaged in research work for the purpose of gathering the best material for the universal books; and furthermore, in testing and improving both the subject matter as well as the method of these text-books. These men,

(1) Cesta Světa, p.33.

(2) Ibid., p.90.

selected from all nations, would give themselves entirely to this task of disseminating the knowledge gained by research, and would likewise keep in touch with learned men among all nations, and bind them all together by common laws and regulations. Thus any new discovery would be immediately heralded to this central body, and be made use of for the benefit of all mankind. The country most suitable for the location of this institute would be England. The reason for this choice was that it would commemorate two great Englishmen: Drake, "who having circumnavigated the whole globe five times, began this common, sacred intercourse of nations," and of Francis Bacon who, as will be remembered, suggested a similar college of learned men, "Solomon's House", in his "New Atlantis". (1)

Finally, Comenius made a curious suggestion of inventing a new language, which would become the means of common intercourse among all men. He did not regard Latin as quite suitable for this purpose, because this language was not perfectly regular. The universal language which Comenius desired must be entirely regular in its grammatical forms, every word denoting but one definite object and having but one definite meaning; moreover, every word must be descriptive and suggestive of the object for which it stood and must characterize it and harmonize with it.

That results, then, in the opinion of the author, may

(1) For one of the many editions of the book see Harvard Classics, vol. 5, p.170.

be expected from these reforms? In the first place, true knowledge would be in possession of all men, and this knowledge would continue to increase. Moreover, the whole world would be open to intercommunication, for "if they all understand one another, they will all be as one nation, one people, one house, and one school of God." (1) Then would all men "come to Zion" and become unified in the worship of the one God of Israel. One does not wonder that Comenius was of the opinion that when these events take place "the millenium is come". Then Christ will rule without rivals, as He ruled hitherto along with his enemies" (2). "And then the world will enjoy general peace, when all hatred and causes of hatred--the mutual contentions--will be removed everywhere. For there will be nothing to contend about, since all would clearly see the self-same truths. Neither will they be embarrassed with differences of opinion when all are taught not of men who differ in their opinions, but of God who is Truth". "Then will Christ's promise of one sheepfold and of one shepherd be fulfilled". (3).

Exhorting then all to strive for the attainment of this glorious goal, Comenius continued: "First of all, correct yourself in accordance with the light of wisdom; then your own people, as nearest to yourself; then let all invite those who are near about, (for instance, the adher-

(1) Via Lucis, chp. IX, par.7.

(2) Ibid., XX, II.

(3) Via Lucis, chap. XX, 13,14.

ents of the same religious body) then of other confessions (as Simon and Andrew invited their companions who were on the nearest boat to participate in the successful draught of fish); thus finally all Christians will be brought into concord and unity, and then they might begin to dispel the deep darkness outside the Church. Then they might spread the light of God before the eyes of Mohammedans, as nearer to us than the Jews and the heathen nations, because they recognize and honor Christ as a prophet. Afterwards, they might go to heathen nations, which do not know Christ, and therefore are as far from hating him as from loving Him. The last will be the open enemies of Christ, the Jews, of whom the Scriptures foretell that they will be converted because of jealousy over the conversion of all other nations, so that the circle of God's mercy will stop with those with whom it began." (1)

This early foreign missionary program closed with an impassionate prayer: "O Father who art in heaven, hallowed by Thy name in all the world! Thy kingdom come to all the world! They will be done as in heaven so in all the world! Over all Europe, O Lord, over all Asia, all Africa, and over all America! Over all the country of Magellan, over all the isles of the sea, hallowed by Thy name, Thy kingdom come, Thy will be done!" "Awaken men who would write Thy will into books, which Thou thyself wouldst write into the hearts of men. Cause the schools to be opened among all nations for the training of Thy sons! And Thyself build a school in

(1) Via Lucis, chap. XXI, 23.

the hearts of men. Awaken the spirit of wise men the world over, so that they may aspire after thy glory, but Thyself preside over the college of Thy chosen ones!" (1)

At Elbing, where Comenius was engaged mainly in working out his improved text-books for the Swedish schools, he incidentally developed his irenic program so that it reached its highest theoretical formulation. This was done in two treatises, the first one of which "De Dissidentium in rebus Fidei Christianorum Reconciliatione Hypomnemata quaedam amici ad amicum" (2), was possibly suggested to him by the local Reformed minister, Bartholomew Nigrin, to whom it was probably addressed ("amici ad amicum"). In this treatise Comenius worked out a program for a general ecumenical Council to be called for the purpose of agreeing upon the conditions of union and peace among all sects of Christendom (omnes in universum, quotquot Christianum praefuerunt nomen"). These sects were partly enumerated for the sake of emphasis, and included the Greek Church, as well as the Roman Catholics Armenians, Copts, Waldenses and Husites, Lutherans and Calvinists, Anabaptists and Socinians, and every other sect bearing the Christian name. (3) The author advocated that

(1) Ibid., chap. XXII.

(2) A copy of this rare treatise, together with other two treatises, is found in the Library of the University of Göttingen. I have secured a transcript of this work through the kindness of Rev. A. Heilmann, pastor-emeritus of the Reformed Church of Göttingen.

(3) De Dissidentium, p. 9.

the delegates should not be many, and should comprise everybody included in the plan of reconciliation. The work of the General Council would consist of three phases: investigation of all abuses to be frankly conceded by all parties concerned; removal of these abuses; and prevention of their repetition or return of heresies and schisms. The whole treatise was informal in its general character, and one is not surprised to find Comenius suggesting that the thought presented therein needed to be elaborated into a larger work under the title: "De tollendis Christianorum in rebus Fidei dissidiis Deliberatio Catholica." But he furnished the main points which were to be elaborated in the projected work, which in general comprised four items:

1. First of all, there should be a graphic description of the Church of Christ of the New Testament, as it was foreseen by the prophets and instituted by Christ himself. This was described everywhere in Scriptures as one Kingdom of God, full of peace, wherein saints reigned under the prince of peace, Christ. This kingdom was destined to include the whole earth. (1) This picture of the New Testament Church was to serve as a model for the renewed Church.

2. All Christians everywhere should be exhorted and convinced by weighty reasons, of which there was abundance, to desire unity of the Church as it had existed formerly in the times of the apostles. The author mentioned twelve reasons, in which he enumerated the various failings and

(1) Ibid., p.20-29.

weaknesses of the contemporary Catholic as well as Protestant churches. The Roman Catholic Church he criticised for its "ferocity" (*saevitia*) toward other churches, for its claim of supreme authority over all others, and its need of a thorough reformation. (1) As for the Protestant churches, he pointed out to them the "foulness of schism", the danger which threatened them if they persevered in their separation, and the imperfect character of the reformation which had been carried out by them. (2)

3. In the third place, Comenius discussed the possible method or way of procedure in the matter of union.

4. Finally, an appeal, to be made to all who in any way could help in healing the divisions of Christendom, and in furthering the work of peace, was recommended. Such, among others, were kings, rulers, magistrates, and church officials. These men of influence could do much in leading the movement to a successful consummation.

Nigrin very soon afterwards went over to the Roman Catholic Church, and that caused Comenius' treatise to be regarded with suspicion and disfavor. And yet, its author never gave up the idea of a general Council for the settlement of terms of union, but extended it to include in the scope of its commission not only the problem of the Church, but of the school and state as well. In other words, he incorporated this idea into his pansophic scheme, as comes

(1) *De Dissidentium*, p.43-47.

(2) *Ibid.*, p.48-54.

out clearly in his "Panegersia".

It was during this Elbing period that he projected his entire pansophic program under the title "De rerum humanorum emendatione Consultatio Catholica ad genus humanum, ante alios ad eruditos, religiosos et potentes Europae." This whole scheme was divided into seven parts, of which only the first two were worked out. The first of these, "Panegersia" (1) was begun in 1644, although it was not published till 1666. It was a stirring appeal addressed to scholars, religious leaders, and statesmen, admonishing them to combine their strength for the purpose of bringing about a general improvement of conditions in schools, churches, and states, and of human life as a whole. The tone of the book is summed up in this sentence, which served likewise as the motto of the present study, being expressive of the whole irenic endeavor of Comenius: "Pereat partialitas in omnibus ubique, ut redeat universalitas (verus catholicismus) in omnibus denique". (2) The author clearly recognized that it was not possible to improve one department, such as church, without improving schools and government also. Thus his work aimed at unified effort for an all-round improvement. It is not, however, possible to review the whole project in detail, hence only such passages as bear directly upon the subject in hand shall be considered.

In the first place, Comenius bewailed the fierce

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- (1) Panegersia, translated by Leutbecher, is found in Comenius: *Ausgewahlte Schriften*, part VI, Leipzig, 1874.
(2) Panegersia, chap. IX, 23.

strife and contentions among humankind in matters of religion. Not only are there different religious systems, as the Jewish, or Mohammedan, or Christian, but each of these is subdivided into "innumerable" sects. This is true especially of the one which enjoys the greatest degree of light, the Christian religion, and this disunion results in the gravest injury to it.(1) If all men sought but the honor of God, this sad contention about religion would soon disappear. But each party tenaciously holds to its own party-interpretations because of the inherited prejudice against all else. Such a great disunion in school, state and temple is shameful. Religion, which should make men like unto God in gentleness and love, becomes a pretext for hate, persecution and cruelty. This is especially true among the Christians, who all have the common divine revelation as the basis of their respective theological systems. How far have they strayed from the eternal harmony! (2)

A hope for betterment of this situation was found in the consideration that the world is one, that the human nature is same everywhere, and the divine endowment is essentially the same in all men. Since that is true, Comenius shared with Socrates the conviction that all that was necessary was to show humankind what its highest good is, and it would gladly follow after it.

"If men were shown
what their complete and real good is, they would be drawn to

(1) Ibid., p.309.

(2) Ibid., p.311.

it. Forc they, moreover, shown the true means for its attainment,.....so would the true, pure, and good, e.g., all-inclusive and all-satisfying philosophy, religion and statecraft be finally attained." (1) Since the creator and ruler of the world is one, and is from day to day making his world more accessible and interrelated by bonds of commerce and industry, why might not the hope be justified that finally the world will be morally one as well? Why could not men form one all-inclusive world-society by reason of common knowledge, common law, and common religion? This indeed was possible, the author asserted, for false religions would disappear as soon as men were properly acquainted with the true; and tyranny and compulsion would be repudiated, when men would get a taste of the true freedom.(2)

To seek a way whereby humankind may attain to this goal was not only permissible, but men were duty-bound to strive for it. Comenius sharply criticised the suggestion that man was to care merely for himself and his own comfort, but to improve the world was not his to aspire after. He proceeded to prove that it was both possible, as well as proper, to put forth all effort to accomplish this object.

Comenius held that there were three fundamentals upon which unity of mankind rested: natural unity of our common humanity; individuality of each person; and finally, free will. That among men a common unity of humanity existed was

(1) Panegersia p.312.

(2) Ibid., p.313.

evident from the fact that God created all men from the same substance. Moreover, they were all created in His image. He prepared the same world for their abode, and spread the same floor for their feet, the earth, and raised over them a common roof, the sky. This all testified openly that it was His will that all humanity be one in the bonds of one great family.⁽¹⁾

As for individuality, man was a copy of God's simple individuality, e.g., "man has been so created that he is dependent upon outside sources as little as possible, but that next to God he may be sufficient to himself." Therefore, God furnished him with three tools: reason, will, and capacity. Reason possesses common concepts, will possesses common motives, and the hand is capable of common skill. "These three simple things are sufficient for all the labors of mankind; and were we true to them, we would be living together harmoniously in peace and concord." (2)

Finally, in regard to free will, Comenius pointed out that "God himself is free and in his dealings with men constrains no one by force. He indeed admonishes and exhorts men to do good and to flee evil, but He neither compels them to do the former, nor pulls them away from the latter. So as He himself does no violence to human nature, so does

(1) Ibid., p.319.

(2) Panopaea, p.321

He wish his creatures to abstain from all compulsion." (1)
These are indeed strange words for a seventeenth century thinker, for in that century tolerance in religious matters was not a virtue but a vice, as denoting religious indifference. When one remembers that this is the age of "Acts of Uniformity", then the motto of Comenius "Omnia sponte fluant, absit violentia rebus" becomes startlingly significant.

At present, the author continued, humanity had departed from these three fundamentals, and therefore the sorry plight in schools, state, and religion. A return "ad unionem, ad simplicitatem, ad spontaneitatem" was necessary, and this return would work no harm to these institutions as they should have been according to their original intention, but would correct and fulfill the true mission of each. "When we build all that is worthy of knowing, of observing, and of practicing, on the basis of universal ideas, motives, and capacity, what is there for philosophy, state, and religion to fear? For on this road that which is good, or true, or safe, can come to no harm". (2)

A colossal undertaking of such magnitude required cooperation of all who could offer anything toward its solution and accomplishment. Therefore, Comenius issued a call for a general Conference or Council, at which all nations and all religious bodies would be represented. All those

(1) Ibid., p.321.

(2) Ibid., p.323.

to whom "the weal of humankind is dear", of every nation, every tongue, and every sect, were invited to participate. "Let us in gentleness search out whether we may not learn something certain in regard to those things which hitherto kept us separated: whether there be one God: where He is; how He must be worshipped in truth? And then let us all serve Him with out united powers, and let no one turn away from doing the will of God! Let us find out if some exercise supremacy over others, and what kind it be, so that we no longer oppress and crush one another. And since we all have the self-same senses, understanding, hands, and capacities, let us search out whether it be not possible that we see, hear, perceive, understand, and behave in the same way, and that we do what there is to be done and what is expected of us. Come! Let us find out if there be truth without error, piety without superstition, order without confusion. And if these are to be found anywhere, let them then be shown to all, and let us make them the common possession of all. What better could we do in this life than strive to find truth, peace, and life?" (1)

The conditions of this universal Council were simple, and yet most difficult. All who wished to participate in this undertaking were required to have but one goal before their eyes: namely, the welfare of mankind. They must make it their earnest concern to discover how the world may be freed from the party-spirit, from compulsion and violent

(1) Panegersia, p.325.

means, and how all could be brought back to seek truth and peace in all things. (1) Moreover, every participant in the project must be upright, honest, helpful, and irenic, so that instead of seeking strife he may be willing to submit to truth.

A noble dream indeed! A call to settle all disputes not by appeal to arms, but by arbitration, by conference. And yet, one listens to this call with a sense of keen realization how prematurely the call was made. No wonder that the result was disappointing, and men heeded not this trumpet-blast.

Such was, in brief, the theoretical program of Comenius for the accomplishment of his irenic goal. If his pansophic works had not been lost in the great Lissa fire, they might possibly have furnished a completely and clearly articulated irenic plan, for the preserved writings contain only suggestions of that plan. Yet, in their general outline, these various proposals are sufficiently comprehensive and consistent to afford a fairly clear idea of Comenius' intended finished product.

(1) Ibid., p.327.

3. THE PRACTICAL ENDEAVORS OF COMENIUS TO REALIZE HIS IRENIC PROGRAM.

After considering what the theoretical plans of Comenius for the union of Christendom were, there remain his practical endeavors for the realization of his ideals to be presented. The distinction between the two is sufficiently clear to justify a separate treatment, and yet it can be done only at the cost of some slight repetition. In such a case, however, it will be a more detailed exposition of items which were previously stated only in general terms.

Comenius was primarily a man of great ideas and noble aspirations. That, however, does not mean that he was impractical, or that he did not know how to apply his ideas to practical demands of life. His great practical educational reforms, which entitle him to the honorable name of "the father of the modern educational system", dispel any such idea immediately. Yet, considering the actual, concrete examples of his irenic efforts in the way of practical application of his methods and theoretical plans, he is found at a disadvantage. But in spite of that, when one considers the nature of his undertaking which demanded co-operation of the various communions of Christians, and good-will and hearty support of religious leaders; when one takes into account the temper of the times, which was in the main hostile to any such effort; and considers the circumstances under which he labored, one may not be willing to judge Comenius so adversely. Other great irenic leaders of the time had no

greater success. John Bury devoted his whole life to the great ideal of uniting Protestantism, and at one time was supported in his undertaking by no less a person than the head of the English government, the Lord Protector, and yet the results of his labors were largely disappointing. The best known of the irenic leaders of the seventeenth century, George Calixtus of Helmstedt, accomplished but little in the way of church union, if we demand concrete results of his labors as our test of success. But in spite of this, it would be entirely wrong to consider these labors in vain, for the fruits may be ripening at this very time in the widespread unionistic movements of to-day.

"Pansophiae Prodromus", published at Oxford and London by Samuel Hartlib, stirred many in England to exhort Comenius to work out the plan suggested therein. Hartlib wrote to Comenius that many of his friends were ready to meet him for a conference in some larger continental city, as Amsterdam, Hamburg, Stettin, or Danzig. Moreover, that co-laborers for the pansophic task were already found (in men like Hubner, Pell, Haak, Harrison, etc.), and that nothing but division of labor was then necessary. But Comenius, who had become in the meantime rector of the Lissa "gymnasium", could not spare time for these meetings.

Then the situation in England changed completely. The king, who had lost the "First Bishops' War", was compelled to call the "Short Parliament", and then in November 1640 the "Long Parliament". Hartlib and his friends belonged to

the Parliamentary party, and when the Parliament gained power, they were able to procure the call of Comenius to England.

Comenius arrived in England on September 22, 1641, and it was till then that he was acquainted with the reasons of his call, and the authority which called him. His first reaction was that of surprise bordering upon dismay. In fact he thought of returning immediately, but his friends dissuaded him from drawing back. The negotiations with the Parliament had to be suspended for a time, for that body was not in session during the king's absence in Scotland (Sept. 9 to Oct. 20), but after they were resumed, a commission was appointed "for hearing us (--Comenius) and considering the ground of our design". He was offered the college of Chelsea, near London, among others, for the establishment of a pansophic college, where a body of scholars collected from various nations could devote themselves permanently to research work and to general furthering of the pansophic project. Comenius, upon whom cares of his church were resting heavily, did not see his way clear to acceptance of the Parliamentary offer; nevertheless, if a way could be found whereby he could free himself from his other obligations, he was disposed to accept the offer. But the outbreak of the Irish Rebellion, during which, according to Comenius' report (valuable only to indicate the wild exaggeration which gained currency), more than two hundred thousand Englishmen were massacred in one night, the Parliament was fully occupied with affairs of state, and the negotiations with Comenius were brushed aside. But be-

fore dropping the matter, the Parliament secured Comenius' promise to return and conclude the negotiations as soon as the country should become quiet again.(1) Soon after came the definite break with Charles I, and the outbreak of the Civil Wars, which interfered effectually with any resumption of the pansophic project.(2)

During his London stay Comenius was busy studying the English situation and planning the details of his project with his friends. He left us a description of his stay in a letter sent to his friends at home. (3) He mentioned among other things that one of his friends, "the most learned Harisson", had already made, in preparation of the pansophic text-books, a catalogue of some 60,000 authors, whose opinions were to be collected into one volume as an integral part of the pansophic scheme. (4) It will also be remembered that it was during this time that Comenius wrote his "Via Lucis".

Thus the outbreak of the English Civil Wars was directly responsible for the shattering of the plans of Comenius and his friends, which the Parliament was ready to support. It is a pity that the project which was in such

(1) See the preface to *Via Lucis*, Amsterdam, 1667.

(2) Cf. *Opera Didactica Omnia*, II. (De Novis..Occasionibus, p.1.)

(3) See Patera: *Korrespondence Com.*, p.38 ff. "Ad amicos Lesznae in Polonia agentes".

(4) Zoubek-Novák: *Život J. A. Komenského*, p.128, erroneously speaks of 10,000 volumes; but the letter says: *Audito ipsum autorum eviscerandorum catalogum jam habere, quorum numerus ad sexaginta millia (audita nunc refero, nondum comperta) ascendit.*

a fair way of successful accomplishment finally fell short of realization. For the plans of Comenius could not be carried out merely by private effort, but demanded subsidizing by some state, without which aid all efforts of Comenius or his friends would not be sufficient.

And yet his London visit was not entirely devoid of practical and valuable results, if the inference of some writers on the subject be correct. From 1645 there had been held, sometimes in Gresham College, meetings of a few "worthy persons inquisitive into Natural Philosophy", out of which in time grew the Royal Society of London, chartered by Charles II. This scientific club was originated by Theodore Haak, a naturalized Westphalian, who was to have been one of the co-laborers in Comenius' pansophic program, and was a friend of Hartlib. The club which he founded took the name of "Invisible College", and counted among its early members Dr. John Wallis, the clerk of the Westminster Assembly, Dr. Jonathan Goddard, and the afterwards famous John Wilkins, who became the first secretary of the Royal Society. Dr. Held, in his *Christianopolis*, (1) considers the "Invisible College" and the subsequent Royal Society an outgrowth of the Comenian Pansophic College proposal, although he traced the original suggestion of it ultimately to Andreae. As we have already shown the idea that Comenius derived the concept of his Pansophic College from

(1) Held: *Christianopolis*, New York, 1916.

Andreae is not borne out by Comenius' own statement in regard to it. Yet it is possible that there was some connection between Haak's "Invisible College" and the Pansophic College of Comenius. Haak was an intimate friend of Hartlib, and was in the party which greeted Comenius upon his arrival at London.(1) Thus he must have belonged to that inner circle which worked out the details of the pansophic plan, as we find them in the "Via Lucis". The most important of these additions was the project of the College, with which thus Haak became fully familiar. Moreover, it was Haak who acquainted the French Minorite scientist, Mersenne, with Comenius' "Prodromus", and thus gained Mersenne's warm approval and offers of co-operation with Comenian schemes. It is apparent, therefore, that he was active in furthering Comenian ideals. He was, moreover, often mentioned in Hübner's correspondence with Comenius in various helpful roles. Unfortunately, we have no direct proof that Haak's club was a substitute for or a direct result of the suggestions of Comenius. Yet, it is significant that the treatise which most fully expressed the program of Comenius as formulated by him when he was in closest touch with the Hartlib group, namely, the "Via Lucis", was on its publication in 1668 dedicated to the Royal Society of London. (2)

(1) See his letter "Ad amicos Lesznae" in Patera, Korrespondence Kom. (1892), p.38.

(2) It was acknowledged by secretary Oldenburg on June 5, 1668. See Kvacala, Korrespondence Kom., II, (1893), p.351.

Before this, we find another effort made by the indefatigable Hartlib to realize a part of the ideal suggested in the "Via Lucis". From 1652 onward he advocated a plan whereby Chelsea College was to be made a center of intercourse between the various Protestant churches of the world. This he proposed in a treatise entitled "The Reformed Spiritual Husbandman, with an humble Memorandum respecting Chelsea College, and a Correspondence with Foreign Protestants." Therein he suggested that "the Foundation of Chelsea College be confirmed, raised, and enlarged for the design of a public centre of good intelligence and correspondence with Foreign Protestant Churches in the cause of religion and learning." The Fellows of this College were to be chosen both from among the English scholars as well as from such foreign scholars as were recommended by their Churches. The information which this body would accumulate would be free to all learned men of the English Churches and the Universities.(1) Nothing came of this proposition, and yet it indicates that the ideals of Comenius were alive, and furnished inspiration for attempts of such character.

At Elbing, where Comenius settled during the period of the Swedish service (1642-1648), he was likewise active in furthering his irenic project. On the occasion of the suggested "Colloquy" between the Polish religious parties,

(1) See the footnote of James Crossley, in *The Diary of Dr. John Worthington*, vol. I, p.74 ff; also Althaus, *Samuel Hartlib*, p.246.

whereby king Wladislaw IV hoped to consolidate them into a single national Church, Comenius was persuaded to become a delegate to the various meetings previous to the Colloquy, as well as to the Colloquy proper, which was held at Thorn in 1645. The first of these preliminary meetings was called by the evangelical Synods to Orla, in Lithuania (Aug. 24/14, 1644), and Comenius participated in it as one of the delegates.(1) There the main subject of discussion was what attitude should the Protestants take toward the second royal invitation to the "Colloquium Charitativum". It is not clear what specific part Comenius played in this conference, but the result of it was that the delegates voted an extended address to the king, and a short dispatch to the Polish archbishop. In the communication to the king they accepted the royal invitation, but asked that both parties be summoned by the king, who was also to preside over the Colloquy. Moreover, they expressed their hope that the proposed conference would really be a conference, and not a scheme

(1) Cf. Comenius' letter to Hotton in Kvacala, Korrespondence Kom., I, (1897) p.119; also Patera: Korrespondence Kom., (1892) p.83. But cf. with these the note taken from Lange's *Necessus causarum publicarum*, consisting of excerpts from the Elbing Ratsprotokolle: "Anno 1644 den 12. August Comenius (so) von der Stadt nach Litthauen gesandt werden sollen, so aber nicht geschehen. (J. Lange, Bd.2.) Es fanden damals in Litthauen die Verhandlungen betreffend das Religionsgespräch zu Versöhnung der Konfessionen statt, welches König Wladislaw auf den 28. August 1645 ansetze." See Toppen: *Zur Lebensgeschichte des Comenius*, in M.C.G., I, p.68. Moreover, Zoubek-Novak: *Zivot J.A. Komenskeho*, p.160, makes the mistake of stating that this meeting was between Protestants and Catholics.

whereby the Protestants would be robbed of their liberty of conscience, and forced into the Catholic Church. (1)

Comenius had a foreboding of the ill success with which the great Thorn Colloquy was to be attended. In a letter to Zbygneus of Goray, an eminent leader of the Polish Reformed party, he expressed his fears, especially when he learned that two fanatical Lutheran zealots, Calov and Botsak, "*uterque filius Boanerges, qui aeque Pontificiis ut Calvinianis nihil nisi ignem de coelo imprecari sciunt*", would attend the Conference. If the spirit of those two men should pervade the meeting, then any thoughts of success would be out of question. Then he gave vent to his despair over this factional sectarianism, crying out: "*Pereant sectae, pereant sectarum fundatores et promotores! Christo me mancipavi, uni soli, quem Pater lucem dedit gentibus, ut salus sit Dei usque ad fines terrae, qui sectas nescit, sed odit, qui suis pacem et mutuam dilectionem testamento legavit et tesseram, qua sui agnoscantur, esse voluit, etc.*" (2)

The following April, a Synod of the "Unitas Fratrum" was held at Lissa, at which an appeal to the Lutherans of Great Poland was prepared. This appeal was signed, among others, but Comenius also. Thus Comenius was not content to rest with mere lamentations, but in company with his colleagues sought to obviate the difficulties which stood

(1) For full text see Hering, Carl Wilhelm: *Geschichte der Kirchlichen Unionsversuche*, II, p.12 ff.

(2) See the letter of Feb. 24, 1645, to Goray, in *Patera: Korrespondence Kom.*, p. 93 ff.

in the way of a successful interconfessional conference. This appeal opened with a reminder that the concord which Christ prayed for, is the first duty of Protestants. The opportunity to consummate a union, or, at least, to defend their faith against a common enemy, was present. Both parties repudiated the pope, and suffered the same enmity and danger from his adherents. In order to gain mutual recognition and cooperation, the "Unitas Fratrum" was sending them (--Lutherans) an exposition of the three articles of faith which are in dispute between them: the Lord's Supper, the doctrine of the person of Christ, and the doctrine of predestination. Lutherans may ask Wittenberg faculty for an opinion regarding this exposition, for this school always thought well of the Church of the Brethren.(1)

When the projected "Colloquium Charitativum" actually met at Thorn on August 28, 1645, it was presided over by the Chancellor of Poland, Prince of Teczyn, who was Wladislaw's plenipotentiary. Each of the three participating parties, Roman Catholics, Reformed (with whom the "Unitas Fratrum" delegation was counted), and Lutherans were to present their articles of faith, and these were then openly discussed wherever difference of opinion demanded it, and finally these differences were to be harmonized. The Catholic party elected bishop George Tiskiewicz of Sanogitien to be their spokesman, while the Reformed party was headed by Zbygneus of Goray, and the Lutherans were led by Dr. Hulsemann of Witten-

(1) See Kvačala: Korrespondence Kom., (1902) p.83-87; the whole document is reprinted in full.

berg. Strife broke out during the very first session over the matter of offering the opening prayer; the first prayer was offered by a Roman Catholic bishop, and the Lutherans insisted that this privilege be passed to each party in turn. But the Catholics demanded to have this part of the service exclusively in their own hands, so that finally the Lutherans had the opening prayer separately in another room. (1)

Comenius, as already stated, was one of the delegation of the Unity, in spite of the fact that he well knew he would be severely criticized for his absence from Elbing and from the work which his patrons demanded from him. He had been very harshly reprimanded for his absence at the preliminary meeting at Orla, of which he complained bitterly to Hotton: "To resist God and to suppress the prompting of my spirit I can not." "8, that I could accomplish more, or aspire less!" (2) There are but meagre accounts of the part he played at Thorn for the public speaking was done through the elected party leader. But it is known that the City Council imposed upon him the honorable, even though it was a thankless, task of attempting to persuade the leader of the Lutheran Party, Dr. Hülsemann, to cooperate with the Reformed during the negotiations with the Catholics, so that a lack of cooperation between the Protestants might not give an undue advantage to the other party. Comenius visited him twice, and did all in his power to accomplish his task successfully; but Hülsemann

(1) Cf. Hering, opus cit., II, p.47

(2) Kvacala: Korrespondence Kom., I. (1897), p.119.

would not listen. He claimed that this was the proper time to show forth one's colors, and that his party would do that regardless of the interests of the other Protestant bodies.

(1) In fact, Hülsemann seems to have been largely responsible, among the Protestants, for the failure of the Conference. A Jesuit described the Lutheran champion in a letter to his friends as follows: "Hülsemannus, ut constaret esse vere Lutheranium, i.e., luto insecitiae haerentem; Reformatos impedivit, Catholicos irritavit, suos intricavit, seipsum confudit." (2) No wonder that Comenius failed to win a man of that type for a program of concerted action.

The negotiations proper were fast coming to a deadlock. It soon became apparent that the Catholics would be satisfied with nothing less than an unconditional return of the "Dissidents" into the bosom of the mother Church. This, of course, was a condition absolutely unacceptable to the other parties. The situation was growing worse daily. When the Reformed party gave their confession the name "Nähere Deklaration der Katholischen Lehre", the Roman Catholics refused to permit this title, saying that theirs is the only Catholic Church. When all arbitration met with failure after the Colloquy was in session for three months, it was finally closed on November 21st. But Comenius had left a long time

(1) Kvačala: J. A. Komenský, p.48.

(2) See letter of Peter Figulus to Ludwig de Geer, of Jan. 5, 1646, in Kvačala: Korrespondence Kom., (1902), p.90x.

before this, on September 18th, having been recalled by a stern letter of De Geer, who threatened to dismiss him from his service if Comenius should persist in neglecting the work for which he had been hired. (1)

Comenius had foreseen the failure of the conference, for nothing could be farther from the conditions of a fair arbitration as he advocated in his "De Dissidentium", than the Thorn Colloquy. In spite of this disappointment, he persisted in his hopeful expectation that some day such a conference would meet with success. Hearing that King Wladislaw contemplated calling another meeting to accomplish what the Thorn Colloquy failed to do, (2) he composed another treatise on the subject of church union, and dedicated it to the king. This work was entitled: "Christianismus reconciliabilis reconciliatore Christo. Hoc est: Quam facile Christiani, si vere ac serio Christiani esse volint, non discordare possint, tam clara est demonstratio, ad gloriosissimum regem Wladislaum IV." This treatise was never published because the king did not carry out his intention of calling another Council, if, in fact, he really intended to do so. It consisted of eight chapters: I. What are the true causes of the fierce dissensions (atrocius dissidiorum) among Christians? II. Concerning the abominable baseness and perniciousness of these dissensions. III. Why is reconciliation of Christians desirable? IV. And if desirable, and

(1) For some stringent criticisms of the methods used by the Catholic party, see the letter of Prince Radziwil, in Kvačala: Korrespondence Kom. (1902), p.87 ff.

(2) This rumor is reported by Peter Figulus to Ludwig de Geer, in a letter of Feb. 28, 1646.

worthy of seeking, what kind should be desired and sought; namely, an entire and common union, with the uprooting of all differences. V. May we hope for its attainment, and on what foundation does this hope rest? VI. Concerning the necessary means for such a reconciliation. VII. Concerning the legitimate use of such means, so that the desired success must necessarily follow. VIII. Regarding the triumph of Christ, the prince of peace, if Christians would submit themselves to be governed by the laws of peace.(1)

The only tangible result of Comenius' activity in connection with the Thorn Colloquy was not beneficial, as far as he himself was concerned. His stand against the Lutheran Sectarianism made him suspected in Lutheran lands, and especially Calov exerted himself to spread calumnies concerning him. Thus, for instance, he maintained that under the guise of his pansophic project Comenius really intended to propagate Calvinism. No wonder that even the Swedish Chancellor sharply censured Comenius for his participation at the Thorn conference, as well as many of the Swedish clergy accused him of Calvinistic propaganda.

Comenius followed the developments in England with a keen and deep interest. The struggles among Episcopalians, Presbyterians, and Independents were a source of sincere grief to him. When the House of Commons, after the death of Pym and Hampden, became so fanatically Presbyterian that a

(1) Cf. Zibrt: Bibliografie České Historie, vol. V., part 2, number 18626.

bill of 1646 stipulated that the Unitarians and freethinking heretics could be put to death, while Baptists and other sectaries could be imprisoned for life, and no layman was permitted to preach or expound the Scriptures, then these "Sectaries" were in no better circumstances than they have been under Laud. Moreover, when the Presbyterian House of Commons made common cause with the royalists and Scots for the purpose of destroying the sects, the Second Civil War broke out (May to August 1648).

It was this unhappy situation which moved Comenius to write another of his irenic appeals. He expressed his opinion in a letter to Hartlib (1) that the use of force in matters of conscience was a grave blunder. Although he did not agree with the Independents in their dogmatic teachings, yet he considered their stand against brutal subjugation in religious matters praiseworthy. Actuated by these motives, he wrote a treatise entitled "*Independentia, aeternarum confusiorum origo, spectamini venerabilis nationalis synodi in nomine Christi Londoni in Anglia congregatae subjecta anno 1648. In exemplum autem noxae a sprotis fraternis conciliis foras data.*" It was written with the intention of being presented to the meeting of the national synod of 1648, and the preface was dated June 30, 1648. The object of it was to admonish all parties, Presbyterians, Episcopalians, as well as the Independents, to moderation and mutual forbearance.

(1) Dec. 27, 1748; see Fatera: Korrespondence Kom. (1892)., p. 122.

To the Independents Comenius conceded the praiseworthy defense of themselves against the oppression of the other parties. Yet he considered the principle for which they stood dangerous and pernicious, for he claimed that it would logically lead to anarchy. He pointed out the necessary interdependence of all things in the natural world, in industry, political relations, as well as in respect of morality. Thus even in matters of ecclesiastical organization a certain amount of oversight, and consequently of submission to this oversight on the part of the members of that organization, is necessary. For entire independence can not fail but become a source of eternal confusion. Therefore he admonished the Independents not to throw off all dependence, without which "the doors will be open to conflicts without measure and end", (1) as could already be seen from the examples of manifold sects springing up among them. For independence is the source of all confusion.

As for the Presbyterians, Comenius rebukes them for abandoning and opposing the episcopale system, which he defends upon the Scriptural, as well as historical and logical grounds. He also pointed out to them the necessity of a general oversight and discipline, which is best exercised when it rests with such as are duly appointed and set aside for just such purpose, as is the case with the bishops. (2)

(1) Translation of J. Šmaha, in *Česká Škola*, 1889, p.253; Chap. IV, 5.

(2) *Independence* Chap. V, in *Česká Škola*, 1898, p.280 ff.

But that did not mean that he was a blind partisan of the bishops, even though he recognized their office as of divine authority. In fact, speaking to the Episcopalians, he intimated that many bishops used their power and position merely for the advancement of their own selfish purposes, and desired nothing but honor and emoluments; if these were taken away, he continued, "immediately would we see the episcopal, and even the apostolical, seats vacant." (1) But if the bishops wished to restore the confidence of their people in themselves, they would have to modify their high pretensions, and deal moderately with their priests and laity.

Abstractly speaking, Comenius found some good points in all three forms of church polity, the monarchical, aristocratic, and democratic, and it would be best, in his opinion, to unite these good qualities of each into one common form. In fact, the "Unitas Fratrum" exemplified such a union. The same kind of polity as hers could be found in the Old Testament, also. Thus, for instance, Aaron was the head of the Church, but with him were permanently associated seventy elders, while in the most serious cases the whole congregation of the Hebrew people was called together to decide. But whatever plan or polity should be adopted, let all remember that "Christ is the lover of all, and will not on account of one hate another party." (2) Thus Comenius remained true to his central thesis, that church polity is

(1) Ibid., chap. VI, 6; p.313.

(2) Ibid., chap. VII, 10; p.360.

a matter of convenience rather than of divine ordinance, and that in such matters there should be mutual toleration and comity.

Life of Comenius is full of tragedy and disappointment. He knew the bitterness of an exile's lot, the buffeting of fortune, the thwarting of circumstances. It is indeed, his greatest title to fame that in the midst of the incredibly brutal war, while he struggled for a bare existence in a foreign land and saw his beloved Church slowly disintegrating, he gave himself with ardor and enthusiasm to the great task of educating the youth for a better world, and bringing about peace and unity in faith in a world of religious discord. In these wanderings of an exile, he was cheered and supported by an ardent hope of ultimate return to his native land, and reestablishment of his Church. Ever since the appearance of Gustavus Adolphus in Germany he had centered his hopes upon Swedish aid, and this feature was one of the decisive motives for his entering the services of Sweden as a reformer of their school system. As previously mentioned, the work of collecting vocabularies and writing grammars and text-books was irksome to the spirit that was on fire with the great pansophic project. And yet, he worked patiently and laboriously for six years, with the hope that his labors might earn the good will of Sweden in behalf of the suffering Bohemian exiles, and when peace should finally be concluded, they would not be forgotten. But when the Peace of Westphalia was signed (Oct. 24, 1648), and Sweden forgot her

solemn promise of defending the rights of the Bohemian Protestant exiles, grief of Comenius knew no bounds. This was one of the bitterest disappointments of his long, sad life.

In a letter to Chancellor Oxenstiern, written after he had learned that his poor nation's cause was to be abandoned by the Swedes, Comenius poured out to him the anguish of his soul. "As formerly my countrymen, suffering for Gospel's sake, were cheered to hear through me and others that Thy highness expressed thyself that we shall not be abandoned, so it is sad for us now to hear that ye are abandoning us, indeed that we are already abandoned, at the Osnabruck negotiations. For if we should be excluded from peace negotiations, what avails us that we looked up to you as to our saviors? That avails us that ye are victorious by the help of our tears, when ye, having it in your power to give liberty to those of us who were rescued, are again delivering us into the hands of our persecutors? What avail the solemn treaties made with your ancestors and sealed with the sacred blood of martyrs, that we are encouraged by you, when ye do not trouble yourselves whether our kingdom returns to the confession of the Gospel? Ye, to whom God granted ability to care for it, are (as the world sees and is astonished) that magnet of wondrous strength which does not attract but destroys (non attrahens, sed atterens) all iron.....In the name of many I write this, and touched by their sighs I prostrate myself at thy feet, and through thee at the feet of the most serene Queen, and the whole august Council of Directors, and beg and implore thee for the

wounds of Jesus Christ that ye do not abandon us, who are afflicted for Christ's sake. Look upon our nation, which among the nations of Europe was the first to be chosen by Christ, having been delivered from the darkness of Antichrist; which, before other nations were enlightened, alone bore the fierceness of Antichrist's anger for a whole century!..... Hear us poor ones, that the merciful God may hear you also."

(1)

Besides, Comenius wrote, in the bitterness of his sorrow, to John Matthiae, bishop of Strengnen, also appealing to him for help. He asked pathetically whether the Swedes would be willing to abandon so many thousand poor souls, contrary to all promises, for a few tons of gold. Of course, his cries of anguish were left unheeded. In fact Oxenstiern, who learned of this appeal, was very angry to receive this rebuke; but even ten years later Comenius reiterated the charge, saying: "My grief which at that time I wished to express, was not private (as it is not to this day) but public. Not that I would have been abandoned, or some few of my co-religionists, but that the whole nation had been abandoned."

(2)

This tremendous shattering of Comenius' faith in Swedish aid meant, as he well foresaw, abandonment of all hopes of return. His Church as a separate organization was doomed to extinction, and his nation's fate was sealed. Moreover, he was too clear-sighted not to see the signs of an approach-

(1) Paterson: Korrespondence Com., (1892) p.144-145.

(2) Ibid., p.155.

ing end: he found it impossible to exercise full discipline over membership so widely scattered, and living in most distressing circumstances. He recognized that the time had come when it would be better to recommend to his flock joining with other churches rather than to continue the hopeless struggle for existence, in which, in the end, there was no hope of victory. In a treatise of deeply touching beauty the bishop speaks words of loving advice to his charge. The book, fitly entitled "The Last Will of the dying mother, the Unity of Brethren, whereby she divides among her sons and heirs her God-given treasures", was written in 1650, and is what it purports to be, the testament of the "Unitas Fratrum."

After lamenting the sins on account of which the present chastening is inflicted upon the Church, the aged bishop, speaking with the broad charity toward all Christian churches, so characteristic of him, advised his flock as follows:

"And.....if you come to be dispersed,.....and if thus my order, discipline, succession, and all my Church ministrations cease, what are you, the remnants of my priests and of my people to do? This, my sons, is my advice: if any of you preachers who have no church of your own, are left, serve Christ wherever you can, in any Protestant church which might desire your services. Only keep in remembrance that ye walk in that simplicity in which I bore you and brought you up. Walk in the straight and middle path, neither

It was the first of December, the weather
was somewhat in a state of confusion, but still

clearing. The weather was not so bad as
it had been a few days before, and the
wind was not so strong. The weather was
just what we needed, and the wind was
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flattering one party to the disparagement of another, nor allowing yourselves to be used as partisans in factional strife among parties. But rather make that your care that love and unity and all common good reign in the Church and among the people entrusted to your care." "Furthermore, when ye join that Church in which ye find the truth of the Gospel of Christ, pray for her peace and seek her upbuilding in good." What golden words of all-embracing Christian love and of wise counsel.

Then he turned separately to the various Protestant Churches (after he had exhorted the Roman Catholic Church "to repent of her adulteries"), and exhorted them and bequeathed to them individually what in his judgment they needed the most. This contemporary evaluation of the various Protestant bodies by a broad-minded and irenic critic is in itself a most valuable contribution to the history of that age. Therefore it shall not be amiss to give it here a more extended notice. Moreover, what is here said, represents not only Comenius' private opinion, but rather presents a clear and sharp statement of the attitude of the whole Unity to the other Protestant churches.

First he addressed the Lutheran Church with the words: "Thou hast been my dearest sister whom the Lord had given me to my comfort when I was still alone; and I loved thee sincerely, although my love to me soon cooled off, because of my simplicity". This greeting he then followed with a friendly criticism: "thou needest more order than thou hast,

a better ordered discipline, and a more sensible apprehension of the article of justification without the present widespread and flagrant abuse thereof." The mistake that the Lutheran Church committed consisted in hardening the system of Luther into one of absolute domas, or, as it were, of laws of Medes and Persians. But Luther's main task was to pull down the Babylon, and he had no time to build the Lord's temple in its stead. And then "his helpers who were to do the work of building, gave up the work, holding to that which he had done as far as he had done it, and made it their pride to live among the ruins." Comenius called it nothing else than modified popery. "And what of popery others deemed and still consider worthy of destruction, ye will not even hear about, so much loss will yet set about building a perfect order of the Church, founding it on the foundation of unity, and erecting fortifications of discipline about it, and putting in gates with bars and keys of Christ." "O, my friends! I, standing, in the discipline of the mighty God, teach and exhort you that knowledge of Christ without following of Christ, a rejoicing in the gospel without the keeping of the law of love on which the gospel is founded, is nothing else than an abuse of the gospel and a veritable deception and error."

In this characterization of the Lutheran Church, the Lutheran historian von Oriegern(1) concurs, in general, say-

(1) Von Oriegern: Comenius als Theolog, Leipzig, p.218-221.

ing: ".....dan hat Comenius durchaus Recht, wenn er unserer Kirche den Vorwurf macht, sie sich in Ruinen wohnlich eingerichtet hat. Soviel die lutherische Kirche nach Luther dafür gewirkt hat, den von ihm und den andern Vätern hervorgebrachten Lehrinhalt zu systemisiren,--eine Arbeit, deren Verdienstlichkeit auch einem Comenius nicht völlig zum Bewusstsein gekommen ist,--so wenig hat sie doch den Trieb empfunden, die Lücke auszufüllen, welche die Reformatoren gelassen, nämlich: die Kirchenzucht!"

Then Comenius in turn addressed the Calvinistic churches, and it is immediately perceptible that he was in an essential accord with them. He had no specific doctrinal items or matters of polity to criticize, but rebuked them for lack of constancy in persevering in their good course. Then he continued: "I wish thee, therefore, first of all that thou mayest hold to piety and to the order pertaining thereto; also to discipline, and to a real single-mindedness, so that thou mayest not only to appear but really be genuine. Then in method, I wish there may be in thee more simplicity and less speculation; also a more discreet discussion of God and His most profound mysteries than some of thy sons were in the wont of indulging. For thereby was caused a sore disruption among themselves and thee. For some of them rebelled against thee in company with the Anabaptists, Socinians, Arminians, and various other insects which came from thee. Especially is this true and evident of thy sons in England, who, after the terror of their wars had subsided, are making a sad and derogatory spectacle of themselves, and have defamed thy

name among their fellows by their practice of ever searching for novelties and never attaining to stable convictions."

It is a pity that such a broad-minded man of humanity and comprehension as Comenius was would apply a word like "insects" to the Arminians and other evangelicals.

Finally he turned to all Christian Churches together, and exhorted them that "they might feel a lively desire for unanimity of opinion and for reconciliation among themselves, as well as for union in faith and love of the unity of spirit." "O, may that spirit which was given me from the very beginning by the Father of Spirits be shed upon you all, so that you would desire as earnestly as I did the union of all who call upon the name of Christ in truth! And may God give you wisdom to find the distinction between things fundamental, instrumental and accidental, as He has given me to discern. For then ye all would know what things are worthy of zeal, or what are the more and the less important among them, so that ye would avoid all zeal that is without knowledge and edification." "Furthermore, I wish that ye all who count yourselves members of one house of the Church may also form a single House of God which would be well ordered and united, and in it one single household living under one single law of God, helping each member in concord and love. For as a body has many members, yet each serves others to grow and to increase in unity; thus may the time come when the Christian Church and at the same time angels might sing: Behold, how good and how pleasant is it for brethren to dwell together in unity!"(1)

(1) Komenský: Kšaft umírající matky Jednoty Bratrské.
Praha-Vinohrady, 1894.

The circumstances have already been alluded to under which after a short stay at Lissa, Comenius was prevailed upon to accept the offer of the Transylvanian Court to reform the schools at Sáros Patak in Northern Hungary. Arriving there in October, 1650, he undertook the remodelling of the local Latin school into a pansophic seven-class school. This period of his life is highly important, as well as interesting, for the student of Comenius' pedagogic labors; for us, who have in mind his ironic efforts, this period is noteworthy from the point of view that all his entire activity in the end centered about carrying out into practical application his ironic ideals.

Comenius cherished the hope that prince Sigismund would prove himself to be the divinely appointed champion not only of the oppressed Protestants, but also of his own peculiar schemes of pansophic world-regeneration. This grew into a conviction, which he clearly enunciated in a composition, prepared and addressed to Sigismund, before the latter's betrothal to Henrietta of the Palatinate, daughter of the unlucky "Winter King" of Bohemia. (1) In a highly laudatory language, and a surprisingly bellicose tone, Comenius exhorted the prince to become another Gideon and smite the Midianites. It is somewhat disconcerting to find this apostle of peace to counsel war preparations against the Haps-

(1) This treatise, "Sermo secretis Nathanis ad Davidem", was found only recently, and is published for the first time in Kvačala: Correspondence Kom., II (1902), p. 249-262.

burgs and the pope, but this was one of the consequences of his conclusion that this the will of God was revealed to him through the prophet Drabík. But he did not altogether lose sight of his earlier great plans, although they were expressed in a somewhat changed form: he urged the prince to work for the establishment of a new organization, a new "Collegium Lucis", which, however, would partake somewhat of the character of an older fraternity of "Secta Heroica", with which it was identified. "Praesertim si Collegium Lucis, sive Secta Heroica, fundata fuerit, ut tantum Opus non unius arbitrio agi videtur; sed communi sapientum, in salutem Orbis conspirantium, consilio et auxilio." (1) Besides, he did not lose sight of freeing all Europe from the "yoke of the beast", and of bringing the Turks to the light of knowledge as well as the gospel.

But all these plans were doomed to disappointment. Sigismund may have been willing to respond to the appeal of Comenius, and to assume the rôle of another Gustavus Adolphus, but he was dissuaded from launching a war against Austria. Then came the crowning catastrophe, the premature death of the prince, who died on February 4, 1654. This was a stunning blow to the expectations of Comenius and his friends, and one would expect that it would prove to be such to the reliability of Drabík's prophecies. But that was not the case. Drabík simply transferred the task expected of Sigismund to the shoulders of his successor, prince

(1) Kvačala: Korrespondence Kom., II (1902) p.256.

George II. In fact, Comenius, in a short treatise dedicated to this prince, entitled "Gentis Felicitas" (1), actually appealed to him to continue the work of Sigismund: "Behold, your Israel, your whole nation is in trepidation before the Turks, is crying before the Jebusites! also the neighboring nations, oppressed by the yoke of Antichrist, cry to God for a savior. Do you not hear? Do you not believe that these sighs and tears are directed to you? O, that God would open your ears and your heart, that you might hear!" (2)

But George was not inclined to war, and the court was opposed to Drabík's influence over Comenius. Drabík's prophecies were solemnly examined at the court of the princess-dowager, and pronounced spurious. This hurt Comenius deeply. Moreover, after the death of Sigismund, the school reforms were given but lukewarm support. Although many of the reforms of Comenius met with most enthusiastic reception and applause, yet he felt that his real mission in Hungary was ended. That mission sought to accomplish not only the establishment of a pansophic school, but also fulfillment of Drabík's prophecies. This latter feature failed, even though his school remained among the best Protestant schools in the land. He returned to Lissa in July 1655.

It will be remembered that shortly afterwards the great Lissa fire drove him to the city of his last refuge, Amsterdam. His interest in the English Church induced him to publish, in 1660, upon the occasion of the return of Charles II to his throne, a work designed to aid that Church

(1) Ibid., p.263-286.

(2) Ibid., p.284.

in the settlement of her ecclesiastical affairs in a permanent fashion. This was his "De Bono Unitatis" which in its English translation bears the title "An Exhortation of the Churches of Bohemia to the Church of England"(1). The second part of the book which is principally of importance in this study, deals with the matter of the form of church government which Comenius recommended to the English Church for adoption. This second part contained discussions of these propositions: (1) That the whole Christian People unite together. (2) That they be likewise brought into order. (3) That they be knit together with the bands of discipline. (4) And then be filled with the Spirit of life.

There again Comenius reiterated his ideas regarding the organic union of Christendom. "O, you Christian people, dispersed throughout Europe, Asia, Africa, America, and the

- (1) The full title runs as follows: "An Exhortation of the Churches of Bohemia to the Church of England: Wherein is set forth The good of Unity, Order, Discipline and Obedience, in Churches rightly now, or to be Constituted, With a Description premised of the Order and Discipline used in the Churches of the Brethren of Bohemia. Written in Latin, and Dedicated to his most Excellent Majesty, Charles the Second, in Holland, at his Returning into England; if possible, it may be for an Accommodation amongst the Churches of Christ. By J. Amos Comenius, the only surviving Bishop of the Remains of those Churches. London. Printed for Thomas Parkhurst at the Three Crowns, etc. 1661" This translation was made by Joshua Tymarchus, as appears from his preface. I was fortunate to find a copy of this rare book in the Newberry Library of Chicago, which seems to be one of the only two copies in existence. See the preface of Dr. Jos. Th. Müller to the "Ratio Disciplinae" in Veškeré Spisy, XVII, where on page 11 the author says that a copy of the English translation was kept at the University of Göttingen, but is lost now; the only other copy is at the British Museum. So the Newberry Library copy was not known.

Islands of the Sea, into so many Religions, Sects, Opinions, and multiplyed different Ceremonies, what else I pray are you now become, but as those bones of Israel in Ezekiel, scattered abroad in the field of the world. O! that it would please God to bring on that day, wherein he will put forth his omnipotent power among you; to command that there may be a noise and a shaking, that so the bones may draw near one to another, and come together (v.7; this would be union), every one, the one to the other, (even in his order) to the sinews: knitting all together, the flesh coming upon the, and the skin covering them over (v.8; there would be the bands), and then the breath come from the four winds, to inspire all that are spiritually dead, that they may live (v.9,10), viz. the life of Christ."

Then he addressed himself to the objection that all this was impossible of accomplishment, by citing various Scriptural texts in its support. "Every man seeks after that which he loves, they say. I therefore, because God hath enamoured me with the love: 1. Of unity, especially that of the Church; 2. of order, especially in the Church; 3. of settlement, especially of the Church. 4. life and vigour, especially of the Church, cannot but be in pursuit of those things with all my desires, and having lost the less, our Unity, Order, Bands, Life, I cannot but pray for the greater, even the Unity, Order, Bands, and Life of the whole people of Christendom, in as much as Unity in the Community is far better than community in paucity."

Naturally, it is not possible to determine what effect this appeal had upon Charles, or upon the leaders of the English Church, or upon the final Restoration settlement of the ecclesiastical question. But it is safe to say that the result of that settlement was hardly in harmony with the ideas of Comenius.

Another interesting attempt of Comenius to carry out his irenic and missionary ideas into effect was that connected with the translation of the Scripture into Turkish. This was to prepare the way for further work of evangelization. The work of translation was entrusted to a certain Dr. Levin Warner, and was to be published by Laurentius de Geer, but Comenius reserved for himself the general direction of the undertaking. Thus, for instance, in his letter to Warner of January 4, 1663, (1) he advised him about the mode of translation, recommending the middle path between a literal and a free translation. Later he announced to De Geer that he had received the first sheet of the Turkish translation of the New Testament, and asked him whether it should be sent to a certain Leyden Oriental authority for criticism. (2) But by the year 1667 it appears that the work of translation was pronounced unsatisfactory by competent critics, and the matter seems to have been dropped.

Comenius' only direct literary share in this undertaking

(1) Kvačala: Korrespondence Kom. (1898) p.276.

(2) Ibid., p.291

was limited to the writings of the preface, which is addressed to "the great monarch, by the will of the great Lord of heaven and earth, the invincible King of many kingdoms upon the earth". He addressed the sultan, saying that the God who made from one blood all the families of the earth is one, and there is no God beside Him. This was the teaching of Moses, of Christ and his disciples, and even of Mohammed. The Koran is based on the Old and New Testaments of the Christian Scriptures, and therefore it is only right that Moslems should be acquainted with these sacred writings. It is not proper that since Christians and Moslems worship the same God, they should live in continual enmity on account of differences in worship or opinions. All men are creatures possessing error. The sultan especially should read the Scriptures, for he rules over many Christians.(1)

The Turkish Bible was never published, and had it been published it is more than doubtful whether Sultan Mohammed IV would have been inclined to carry out the aspirations of Comenius. Just the same, the attempt made by this apostle of peace and unity serves to show us the earnestness with which he gave himself to the ideal.

Another attempt to realize his plans was made by Comenius on the occasion of peace negotiations carried on between the ambassadors of various nations at Breda. The peace of Breda (July 1667) terminated the Anglo-Dutch war, which broke out as a result of the commercial rivalries be-

(1) See "Bibliorum Turcicorum Dedicatio" in Patera; Korrespondence Kom. (1892) p.284 ff.

tween the two nations, as signalized by the renewal of the Navigation Act. The peace was concluded in the presence of the English, Dutch, Danish, and French representatives, and their presence at Brede gave Comenius an opportunity to present to them and to the world his conception of the necessary conditions upon which the only true and permanent peace could be based; moreover, this peace was not to be restricted to the countries represented, but was to embrace the world. He expressed his ideas in a treatise entitled "Angelus pacis ad legatos pacis Anglos et Belgas Bredeam missus indeque ad omnes Christianos per Europam et mox ad omnes populos per orbem totum mittendus, et se sistant, belligerare desistant, pacisque principi, Christo, pacem gentibus jam locuturo, locum faciant". In this work he repeated again his reasons for the necessity of a general peace. He also mentioned that he was preparing two other ironic treatises, and that they were almost ready. They were to bear the title: "Christianismus reconciliabilis reconciliatore Christo", and "De omnimoda rerum humanorum emendatione a Christianismus". Furthermore, he informed his readers that these treatises were begun by a divine command, and exhorted the legates to distribute all three works among the kings and princes, so that they may be seriously considered by all nations.

This was the last time that Comenius attempted to influence the course of public affairs by his endeavors for the establishment of a permanent and general peace, both

in Church and state. But he was now an aged man, 75 years old, and his bodily vigor was waning and his memory was failing him. In this old age Comenius composed a work which may well be considered a review of his life and endeavors. He found that human labors are but rolling of the stone of Sisyphus and that but one thing was really necessary for human happiness; therefore he called his book "Unum Necessarium". (1) That one thing necessary was to return to Christ. In the light of this conviction he passed in review all human activity and exhorted all to seek that one thing. He likewise scanned his own activity and passed his judgment upon it. It is even pathetic to hear this old man speak of his life-labors, as he looked back upon them instead of forward to them. Of his life-long irenic endeavors he said:

"The second long and difficult labyrinth were my irenic labors, i.e., my wish to reconcile (if it pleased God) Christians, who in various ways, to their own hurt and near ruin, carry on controversy concerning faith. I expended much labor on this matter. So far almost nothing has been accomplished, but perhaps my labors will succeed yet. Nothing was accomplished because of the stubborn irreconcilability of some men, to whose implacable animosity my friends did not deem it wise to expose myself. But it will succeed yet, for in the end it will be found necessary to obey God rather than men, and to fear God more than men.....

(1) "Unum Necessarium" was recently translated into Bohemian by Dr. Ludvikovsky: "Jednoho jest potřetí," Praha, 1920.

Now everyone considers his own Babylon beautiful, and believes that his is the true Jerusalem which surpasses all things and everything gives way to it."

"This obstinacy of Christians one to another, and the hitherto vain efforts of various men to reconcile them, caused me to consider and to hope that it would be easier to heal the whole than a part; to give the whole body a common medicine, than to apply a plaster only to head or foot, or side. That is, I began to concentrate my desire upon an endeavor to reconcile the whole human race (which is out of harmony with things, with each other, and with God) and to seek means and ways how to accomplish this project". Then he mentioned the unfavorable criticisms with which his "Prodromus" had been received, and continued: "That caused me to hide my thoughts to this day, so that although many know that I am engaged upon this work, yet almost no one knows whether anything has been accomplished or not, and some do not even inquire after it any more, thinking (as I am told) that I myself regard the task hopeless. There are but very few who yet hope for results. In vain perhaps? God knows! I neither say that there is hope nor that there is none, even though the grave is opening before me. For we never have strength for any task in ourselves, while God's strength is ever sufficient." (1)

Such were the various attempts this apostle of unity

(1) "Unum Necessarium", p.180-182.

and had following morning at 10.00 am. The weather was
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made in an effort to realize his cherished ideal. And yet that was not to be the attainment of the seventeenth century. An ideal of such magnitude can not be realized in one generation, but requires centuries for maturing. Comenius, in his "Unum Necessarium" confessed that the great task of his life was not accomplished; but in spite of his disappointment that his ironic ideals met with a lack of appreciation in his day, he will not have lived and labored in vain, if his contribution would in any way add a permanent suggestion to the ultimate solution of the problem.

the fact that the government has been so successful in its efforts to reduce the deficit and to improve the economy. The government has been able to achieve these goals by implementing a series of reforms, including the privatization of state-owned enterprises, the introduction of a new tax system, and the strengthening of the legal system. These reforms have led to a significant increase in economic growth and a reduction in the deficit. The government has also been able to improve the quality of public services, such as education and healthcare, and to reduce corruption. These achievements are a testament to the government's commitment to reform and to the support of the people.

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Chapter IV - EVALUATION OF COMENIUS' INFLUENCE.

1. HIS PLACE AND INFLUENCE IN HISTORY.

Comenius had gained for himself a commanding place in the history of education as the real founder of the modern educational theory and practice. As Cubberley says of him: "What Petrarch was to the revival of learning, what Wycliffe was to religious thought, what Copernicus was to modern science, and what Bacon and Descartes were to modern philosophy, Comenius was to educational practice and thinking".(1) His real worth was recognized in his own day, as is witnessed by the opinions of Chancellor Oxenstiern, Samuel Hartlib and his English group, his protectors de Geers, as well as by his numerous friends among pedagogical reformers. Thus, for instance, one M. Adam Weinheimer, superintendent of Esslingen, wrote to Professor Rosenthaler of Tübingen, also a good friend of Comenius, in almost extravagant terms in praise of Comenius' didactic works. He does not know what title to give to Comenius who is so far above all rectors, schoolmasters, and superintendents that all these seem like schoolboys beside him. He regards Comenius as combining in himself all the best qualities of the best teacher. "Vir, inquam, de quo dubito, an ex ipso tota Didactica vel ipse totus ex Didactica sit confectus!" (2) Another one, John Adolph Tasse, a celebrated professor of mathematics in Hamburg, wrote to

(1) Cubberley, The History of Education, 1920, p.415.

(2) See the letter of June 5, 1657 in Kvčala: Korrespondence, II, p.220. ^A

Hartlib concerning the "Prodrromus": "In all corners of Europe will the study of Pansophy and of the improved didactics be pursued with zeal. And if Comenius did nothing more than to have strown the seed of such motives into souls, every man must confess that he had done enough." (1) Moreover, when one remembers the enormous popularity of his "Janua linguarum" and "Orbis Pictus", which were translated into practically all the important European languages, as well as some non-European, that seems proof enough of the estimation in which their author was held. (2)

Strange to say, however, that his methods were not followed by his immediate successors. August Hermann Francke seems not to have known Comenius' Didactica Magna, and the whole eighteenth century seems to have forgotten what Comenius strove for. But with Herder the true worth of Comenius began to be discerned. Leibnitz also perceived, with a philosopher's eye, the greatness of the man, and expressed his conviction:

"Tempus sit, quo te Comeni, turba bonorum

Factaque spesque tuas, vota quoque ipsa colet."

And the time came. Such men as President Nicholas Murray Butler of the Columbia University gave unstinted recognition to Comenius in these words:

"The place of Comenius in the history of education, therefore, is one of commanding importance. He introduces and

(1) In "Opera Didactica", I, p.455.

(2) An American reprint of the twelfth English edition of the "Orbis Pictus" was published as late as 1810.

dominates the whole modern movement in the field of elementary and secondary education. His relation to our present teaching is similar to that held by Copernicus and Newton toward modern science, and Bacon and Descartes toward modern philosophy. Yet he was not, in a high sense, an original mind. But his spirit was essentially modern and remarkably receptive. He assimilated the ideas that were inspiring the new civilization and applied them to the School". (1) Thus Leibnitz's prophecy has been fulfilled at least in one particular, as far as Comenius' educational reforms are concerned.

As a theologian, Comenius had rendered his Church the great service of having represented in his writings the entire field of theological learning. The "Unitas Fratrum" was never greatly given to composing or elaborating systematic theologies. It prided itself more upon purity of morals and rigorous church discipline than upon formal theological learning. Comenius presented in his writings a unified theological rendering of the current tenets of his Church, although he can not be spoken of as a constructive or creative theologian. His service was that of conserving rather than creating. (2) In this he simply reflected the spirit of his Church, which, as already mentioned, was not interested in formal theological science.

But in the field of what Dury called "the practical divinity", Comenius' place is again highly honorable. Being

(1) See Cubberley: Readings in the History of Education, Boston, 1920, p.356.

(2) Cf. von Criegern: Johann Amos Comenius als theolog. Leipzig, 1881.

a man of deep religious spirit, his writings throughout stress piety rather than theological acumen, and life rather than learning. "To dispute, to quarrel and to contend with one another is not the way ordained by Christ for the edification of the Church (I pray, mark ye all!), but it was devised by Satan to afflict the Church.....When Christ was leaving this earth he described the true way on this wise: Go ye, teaching all nations! And what? Teach them to observe all whatsoever I commanded you. Behold, here is the way in which the Church of the New Testament should be edified: to teach men piety, that they may observe all what the Lord commanded."

(1) This insistence upon inner piety and pure, godly life make Comenius one of the most important forerunners of the Pietistic movement of the late seventeenth and the early eighteenth century. All the elements of later Pietism could be found in Comenius, except the "conventicles", for which his Church had no need. One could as well point out the numerous passages in his writings in which Comenius' interest in the conversion of the non-Christian peoples is indicated, for it forms an integral part of his pansophic scheme. (2) This gives him an enviable distinction of being among the first who saw and felt the obligation of the Christian Church in the matter of the foreign missionary enterprise.

Such was the place and influence of this great man, who,

(1) Haggaeus redivivus, chap. XXI.

(2) See, for instance, "Via Lucis", ch. XXI, 23, where Comenius outlines a tentative program of foreign missions by advocating missions to the Mohammedans first, then to other non-Christian nations, and finally to Jews.

"working amongst Czechs, Germans, English, Dutch, Swedes, and Hungarians, with friends in France and Italy, has won by his thought as well as by his life, a universal significance. As philosopher and divine, in union with Andreae, Dury, Milton, and others, he devoted his life to a work of peace. He placed the weal of man, as he termed it, above the respect for languages, persons, and sects; thus his energies were directed toward restraining the wrangling people, churches, and classes from the violent utterance of their differences, and leading them on the ground of early Christian views to mutual peace and forbearance. As educationalist, inspired by Bacon, he successfully asserted the claims of experimental science in the elementary schools of his time, placed the mother tongue on the list of subjects of instruction, and included in the conception of the school the idea of physical culture. By his demand for education of all children, he became one of the fathers of modern elementary education".(1)

B. EVALUATION OF COMENIUS' IRENIC PROGRAM.

What value does the irenic program of Comenius possess for the solution of a similar problem today? To ask oneself that question is to realize immediately that neither his or any other thinker's scheme is entirely adequate to cope with the situation as it is at the present time; but because of that, his suggestion can not be discarded entirely. There

(1) Quoted in Monroe: Comenius, p.172.

are some elements in the program of Comenius which are of transient character, having been based upon principles no longer adequate; but there is much in it which is of permanent value, and rich in potentiality for the solution of the modern problem.

In the first place, the program of Comenius reduces itself to the proposal of an escape from creedal and speculative theology by return to an unsectarian, Biblical system of Christianity. This system was to be governed by the three norms of induction, reason, and the divine revelation. Considering first the principles upon which Comenius proposed to build his system, one immediately perceives it to be a curious mixture of inductive and deductive methods. As was entirely natural for a man of his age, he placed the Bible in the position of the highest criterion of all truth, in science, history, ethics, as well as religion, and subordinated everything else to it. That, of course, is a flat contradiction of the inductive method which he professed, and yet it was not such to him. In the spirit of an orthodox, theologically trained thinker of the seventeenth century, he regarded the Scriptures as verbally inspired of God, and therefore as absolutely inerrant in all things. On such premises he could not conceive of the possibility of a contradiction between the Scriptures and nature, for in both the same God of Truth was revealed. Truth is one, whether found in the Scriptures, or in nature, or in human consciousness. There was but a single exception to this statement, and that was in favor of the

Scriptures. Since they were the highest and fullest revelation of God and His will, they could be and properly should be regarded as the most reliable of all sources of truth, and any conclusion drawn from Scriptural premises took precedence in authority before any other induction drawn from the world of things or reason. It was on this basis that Comenius opposed the Copernican theory, regarding it as contrary to the teaching of the Bible.

But the modern Biblical criticism affords a truer understanding and a deeper appreciation of the real genius of the Bible than that which prevailed in the days of Comenius. Accordingly, the Bible is understood to be a record of the gradual development of the true concept and consciousness of God, traced mainly in the history of one religiously supremely gifted race, the Hebrews. The Book attempts to teach no science, nor is it primarily a text-book of ancient history. With this truer insight into the genius of the Bible one is not tempted to argue the question of organic evolution on the basis of the book of Genesis, nor to build a practical missionary program on the foundation of a literal interpretation of the eschatology of the books of Daniel and Revelation. Thus to demand, with Comenius, an absolute submission to the letter of the Scriptures in all matters whatsoever, is seen to be contrary to the very genius of the Bible itself. A religious system based on the notion of an absolute inerrancy of the Bible in the sense in which Comenius proposed it, is not inductive in its method and

would merely add another to the deductively produced "religions of authority" which prevail in the world.

Moreover, it can be gravely doubted whether any such system as proposed by Comenius could be denominated "unsectarian", or free from any particular theological interpretation. Comenius himself, as has been shown in the study of his treatment of the "non-evangelical" groups, exhibited no desire to recognize any but the "evangelical" bodies as in harmony with "the doctrines of Christ and his disciples". Whether consciously or unconsciously, he is theologically classifiable as holding a system of modified Calvinism, and one would certainly be justified to suppose that his "unsectarian and Biblical" system of Christianity would in general bear the same character. Of course, the works that survived do not present us with his finished irenic program; but such tentative descriptions of his system as survived leave no reasonable doubt in regard to its theological character.

As for the proposal itself of a general Biblical system of Christianity in place of the various theological interpretations thereof, much the same criticism applies. In his "De Dissidentium", Comenius suggested the New Testament Church as the norm and model of the Church which was to be. But the picture which he painted of this Church did not much resemble the one which the critical scholarship of today affords. It was an idealized, fanciful dream of a perfect society of saints, united in mutual love, and forming one homogeneous and unanimous body. It was largely a subjective

projection of the ideals of Comenius back into the apostolic times. Moreover, he naively considered the doctrinal and ecclesiastical development of the early Christian centuries a product of no other forces and influences than those of "Christ and his apostles." It would be unjust to reproach Comenius with ignorance of the true development of the Church during the early Christian centuries, for he merely shared opinions of his day in this regard. But conscious of his idealization of the early Church, the Christian Church to-day can hardly share his conviction of the need of an unconditional return to the Church as it was in the New Testament times, for that ideal which Comenius depicted is in the future, not in the past. The Church which Comenius projected into the past never existed in reality. This is not, however, a denial of the genuine spiritual power which animated the early believers, and so marvelously transformed the lives of many of them. It is merely a protest against the indiscriminate idealization that prevailed in the seventeenth century.

Secondly, to make this ideal New Testament Church normative for all times, it must be presupposed that primitive Christianity had an organization, a system of faith, and a set of ordinances, definitely intended to be permanent and universal. Moreover, that the Church to-day possesses such a clear and reliable account of all these items that it may ascertain and establish them indubitably and to the satisfaction of all by a process of simple exegesis. But the

simple fact of the matter is that the apostolic Church had no such organization or system of beliefs or ordinances, and that to this day the various denominations claiming to hold to the apostolic ideal fail to reach unanimity as to the interpretation of what the primitive Church did possess. These bodies, moreover, differ considerably in what they regard to be fundamental in faith, practice, and organization, and all attempts to unite them on the basis of the New Testament ideal have hitherto failed.

On the other hand, if the unifying principle be found not in the letter but in the spirit of the New Testament Church, with its loyalty to Christ, and its emphasis upon the Spirit-filled life, and its appreciation of the diversity of manifestations of the same Spirit, then possibly the proposal of Comenius may be found suggestive and fruitful. Of course, we do not mean to assert that Comenius himself would have understood it in that sense. For him, Christianity, after all, was reducible to a certain amount of clearly defined doctrinal statements, acceptance of which was necessary to salvation. He advocated elimination of certain abtruse theological subtleties, but that did not mean that he did not insist as strongly as anyone of his age upon the acceptance of a simple but definite, dogmatically formulated, "corpus doctrinae". But since the suggestion of such an irreducible minimum of belief as required in Comenian proposal is not generally found to be happily adapted as a solution of the present-day problem, that feature of it

needs to be brought into conformity with the requirements of the present task. Naturally, no such modification can be worked out here; suffice it to point out that the Bible, revealing as it does the supreme God-consciousness attained by the human race, is the source of the same God-consciousness to-day as it was in the past. It is this element of supreme religious value which makes the Bible an indispensable integral part of any Christian religious system. But this element need not be limited to the Calvinistic interpretation, as Comenius unconsciously would have made it.

But the most important positive and permanent contribution of Comenius to the solution of the problem of divided Christendom is found in his suggested pedagogic method of procedure or application. Other leaders suggested that a system of doctrine acceptable to all might be prepared, adopted by the constituted authorities of the various ecclesiastical bodies, and then imposed by them upon the rank and file of the laity. Comenius would not begin with the adults, but with the children. Moreover, he would not try to impose it upon men, but to educate or lead them into a free and willing acceptance of his system.

Comenius believed in education; he was convinced that "it may be obtained or brought about, that all men as they are made by one God after his image, destined to one end of blessed eternity with him; sent into the same schools of this present life; furnished with the same requisites of necessary helps, or are certainly apt to be furnished; so

may they but suffer themselves to be led by the hand in common from a common principle, through common means to common ends; why may we not hope more serious study about serious things, and less stir about trifles, and by this more concord and lesse differance?"(1) He firmly believed that the impressions and instruction received in early infancy and early childhood are fundamentally important, as they generally form the basis of the subsequent life. Prejudices fostered then can be eradicated only with the utmost difficulty, if at all. Therefore the supreme importance of educating children in the right sort of religious knowledge, in such tenets as are common to all, in forming the young mind to recognize all other men as brothers and children of the same Father. Furthermore, the religious concepts that he proposed would form a substratum of the entire cultural system of education, and would be thoroughly homogeneous with it. He wanted to harmonize science and culture in all its departments, with religious concepts, and thus to educate all the powers of man into one harmonious and complete individuality. This could be accomplished by training all children in a thoroughly unified educational system, which would combine the intellectual and physical training with moral and religious culture, and would thus aim to develop the whole individuality.

The modern world is moving in the direction suggested by this feature of Comenius' program. It is generally

(1) "A Patterne of Universall Knowledge", p.23.

recognized that education is the greatest force for the improvement of the world, and in more recent times the education of the whole man is stressed more than ever before. Religious education is quickly coming to its own proper evaluation and place in the educational program, for the world realizes that only religion can direct the human spirit into the highest and noblest channels. If that be true, the time will come when the pedagogic method, as in general suggested by Comenius, will be applied also toward the solution of the problem of divided Christendom, by unifying it by means of a common homogeneous culture, in which religion forms a proper and integral part. This task would involve revolutionizing of much of the prevailing religious conceptions as well as in the accepted educational system, and it would take generations before it would become effectual in its results, but in the end it would be the only real solution of the problem. When that is done, then the irenic ideal of Comenius will have come to its own.

APPENDIX.

A. The relation of Comenian "universal college" to similar ideas of other thinkers.

The Comenian idea of an "universal college" was not new. The seventeenth century was an age of "utopias", in which various schemes of "ideal states" were constructed. One need not mention such well-known works as Thomas Campanella's "Civitas Solis", Francis Bacon's "New Atlantis", John Valentine Andrease's "Christianopolis", or the less known work of Samuel Gott, "Nova Solyma" (1) or lastly Hartlib's "Description of the famous kingdom of Macaria". These works of fancy describe various ideal states, in which an organization or college of learned men is depicted as devoted solely to the improvement of human knowledge or conditions of life. Thus, for instance, the "New Atlantis" speaks of the "Solomon's House", which is a powerful organization of learned men who busy themselves with collecting knowledge, with experiments of various kinds, and with improvement of the means of human existence. The most remarkable feature of this brotherhood is that their work is based on inductive methods, on empirical investigation, rather than on Aristotelian mediaevalism. The same general proposal is found in Andrease's "Christianopolis", where a college of natural sciences is found, which also relies on empirical investigation for its method. This idea of a college, or an association of learned men for purposes of ad-

(1) See Held: Christianopolis, New York, 1916, p.75 ff.

vancing knowledge, became widely spread and led to the founding of various secret societies. In Germany, Andreae sought to establish a truly Christian society on the basis of his "Christianopolis", and later on the basis of a similar treatise, "Dextra amoris porrecta". In fact, such a secret society, known as "Antilia" was founded near Riga on the Baltic, and corresponded in general with Andreae's plans.(1) In England, where Baconian ideas of "Solomon's House" as well as the fame of Andreae's society were fully alive,(2) Hartlib published as far back as 1641 a pamphlet dedicated to the "Long Parliament", entitled: "A brief description of the famous kingdom of Macaria, showing its excellent government, wherein the inhabitants live in great prosperity, health and happiness; the King obeyed, the nobles honoured, and all good men respected; vice punished and virtue rewarded. An example to other nations. In a dialogue between a scholar and a traveler." Its goal was "assisting and promoting all undertakings in the support of which mankind were interested. Every invention conducing to the public benefit, every valuable work of literature, every defense of Christianity, and endeavor to promote unity among Christians, every charitable foundation lacking assistance, were to be encouraged, refreshed, and upheld

(1) Kvačala: Die pädagogische Reform des Comenius, II, p.172-173.

(2) There is a letter of Hübner sent to Wisterfeld of Transylvania, who also belonged to the Hartlib group, in which Hübner asked for a more detailed information about the society of "Dextrae amoris". See Kvačala: Korrespondence Kom., I, (1897) p.49.

group, and especially by Hübner's letter, and after the personal conferences with Hartlib during Comenius' stay in London. Let us remember the significant fact that it was in the very year of Comenius' visit to London (who came there on September 22, 1641) that Hartlib's "Macaria" was published, (the preface of which is dated October 25, 1641) and this book certainly preceeded the "Via Lucis". Now Hartlib's model for this utopia, as he expressly states, were Sir Thomas Moore's "Utopia" and Sir Francis Bacon's "New Atlantis": "..... moreover, I have given my ideas the form of a fictitious narrative as that seemed to be the fitting method, wherein Sir Thomas Moore and Sir Francis Bacon, once the Lord Chancellor of England, served to me as an example".(1) Nothing is said about Androae. The same is true of Comenius. When the Parliament finally made the proposal of assigning one of three colleges near London as the seat of the "pansophic college", Comenius expressly remarks: "so that nothing seemed more certain than that the design of the great Verulam--(Francis Bacon of Verulam) concerning the opening somewhere of a universal college, devoted to the advancement of the sciences, could be carried out".(2) Moreover in the "Via Lucis" itself, where this suggestion of a college is made, he considered England as the most suitable place for the erection of such an institution "in memory of the excellent Verulam the Chancellor of England, from whom came the first suggestion of conferences for

(1) Althaus, Samuel Hartlib, p.212.

(2) "Opera Didactica", introduction to part II.

The first of these is the fact that the system is not
 self-sufficient. It is necessary to import a large
 quantity of raw materials from abroad. This is
 due to the fact that the country is not large
 enough to produce all the raw materials it needs.
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the improvement of sciences.(1) The same is true of his "Pansophiae diatyposis", where after mentioning the college, he follows it with a quotation from Bacon, thus conjoining the two.(2) Therefore, it is quite evident that Comenius himself traced the idea of the college back to Bacon, and does not mention Andreae in this connection at all. Of course, as for the question whether or not Bacon derived his idea from Andreae, that is not within the scope of this study. But Comenius clearly considered Bacon to have been the originator.

It is quite a different matter, however, when we speak of a general suggestion of the pansophic ideals, which Comenius does ascribe to Andreae. We learn that from a parenthetical remark of Comenius in a letter to Hesenthaler, where he describes his losses sustained in the great fire of Lissa in 1656.(3)

(1) "Via Lucis" chapter XVIII, 10.

(2) "A Patterne of Universall Knowledge", London, 1651, p.179.

(3) Patera: Korrespondence Kom., (1892) p.189.

B. Comenius' Call to the President of the Harvard College.

Cotton Mather, in his "*Magnalia Christi Americana*", has a curious note in regard to the call of Comenius to the presidency of the Harvard College. He says: "That brave old man, Johannes Amos Comenius, the fame of whose worth hath been trumpeted as far as more than three languages (whereof everyone is indebted unto his Janua) could carry it was indeed agreed withall, by our Mr. Winthrop in his travels through the low countries, to come over into New-England, and illuminate this Colledge and country in the quality of a President. But the solicitations of the Swedish Ambassador, diverting him another way, that incomparable Moravian became not an American." (1) Blodgett, in an article "Was Comenius called to the presidency of Harvard?" (2), thinks that Comenius may have been asked by Winthrop in a general way about his willingness to accept the position, for Pres. Dunster did not resign till October 24, 1654. Yet, Cotton Mather, whose father, Increase Mather, was president of Harvard (1684-1701), had an exceptionally good opportunity to learn this bit of unrecorded history from a highly reliable source. Thus, in general, Blodgett does not think the whole matter improbable.

This position, however, leaves too many difficulties unanswered. The whole subject is involved in obscurity and

(1) Cotton Mather: *Magnalia Christi Americana*, New Haven, 1820, vol. II, book IV, p.10.

(2) *Educational Review*, 1898, 16,--391-393.

contradiction. In Winthrop's "History of New England" there is no mention of Winthrop's being away in Holland during the year 1642, but on the contrary he is mentioned several times during the year in connection with various official functions. Thus on March 18, 1642, mention of his re-election for the office of governor is made. Then he is referred to by title in the record of July 1st, and July 8th, when he presided over the meeting of the general court. Then on March 10, 1643, he was re-elected to his office again.(1) Considering the minute detail into which his "Journal" goes, it seems unthinkable that he could leave his duties and travel in Europe without any explicit mention of it in the records. In fact, it would be safe to say that such an assumption is without the least support. And yet the phrase that "the solitations of the Swedish ambassador diverting him another way" points indubitably to Comenius' passage through Holland in the fall of 1642.

But on the other hand, Mather places the paragraph in question immediately after the record of the resignation of Pres. Dunster on October 24, 1654, and after the paragraph continues: "On November 2, 1654, etc." Thus it would be most natural to assume that Mather understood the offer of presidency to Comenius to have been made after the resignation of Pres. Dunster, i.e., in 1654, instead of twelve years earlier, for he does not indicate in the slightest that

(1) Winthrop: "A History of New England" 2 vols., Boston, 1854, vol.II, p.76 ff.

the chronological sequence has been disregarded in that particular paragraph. But in that case two difficulties confront us: Governor Winthrop of Massachusetts could not have been travelling in the "low countries", for he had died in Boston on March 26, 1649 (O.S.); and Comenius was not travelling in the Low Countries, either, for he was then at Sáros-Patak till June 22, 1654, and removed thence to Lissa.

It is indeed possible that the Winthrop in question was the Massachusetts' governor's son, John Winthrop, Jr., later governor of Connecticut. As a matter of fact, the junior Winthrop actually travelled in England during Comenius' stay in London. He sailed for England on August 3, 1641, in order to exert personal influence with his friends to gain them for his various enterprises. He arrived at Bristol on September 28, as he tells his wife in a letter sent a little later.(1) He stayed in England less than two years, leaving for America in May 1643.(2) There is evidence to show that he was acquainted with the Hartlib group, and corresponded with some members of it even after his return to the colonies. He may have met Comenius, and may have spoken with him, in a general way, about the intellectual condition of the colonies. On such an occasion it is possible that he may

(1) See Massachusetts Historical Collections, Fifth Series, vol. VIII, p.35.

(2) Waters, T.F.: A Sketch of the Life of John Winthrop the Younger. Publications of Ipswich Historical Society, VII(1900) p.32 ff.

have expressed a desire to gain Comenius for the struggling college of the New World, although it is difficult to conceive how he could have officially offered him the presidency of Harvard. Beyond this surmise the reference of Hather to the incident in question can not be authenticated.(1)

- (1) The same adverse judgment is expressed by Monroe in his "Comenius" (p.78-81), although he does not suggest the possibility of substituting the younger for the elder Winthrop.

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(1) Will be abbreviated to M.C.G.

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